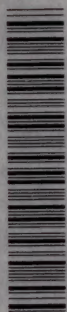


# LINCOLN



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E. Mansel Sympson

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## On the Road in Lincolnshire.

A Baptist minister writes us—

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"Lincolnshire is unexcelled for variety of scenery—fens, marshes and wolds, and historic places. A one day's tour might start at Stamford, noted for its bull-baiting, its churches, with their Dean, and its old collegiate buildings where once was sheltered the rival of the ancient universities. A ten miles run, through wooded and fertile lands, brings you to Crowland, the centre of Fenland—with its thousand years of history, from the time of Hereward the Wake. Here is a Gothic triangular bridge and the ruins of a splendid abbey. Ten miles north is Spalding, the market town, and centre of 'the Parts of Holland.' After another sixteen miles, through a land of orchards, you come to Boston, once the chief port of England, and the birthplace of John Foxe and Jean Ingelow. . . .

"After lunch, a twenty miles run across the marshes, with their broad drains or dykes, passing Scrivelsby Court—the ancestral home of the Dymokes, the hereditary Grand Champions of England—finds you at Horncastle. In the parish church are scythes used as weapons in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Thence you journey to Winceby, where Oliver Cromwell won his first victory, and on to Somersby Rectory, in which Tennyson was born. Near by is the moated Grange, the wood with its dusky dell and murmuring stream immortalised by the poet. Passing through Spilsby, the birthplace of Sir John Franklin, the Arctic explorer; Willoughby and Alford, which are both associated with Captain John Smith; and Belleau, with Sir Harry Vane's Manor House, we come to Louth, the birthplace of the Pilgrimage of Grace, which is still recovering from its flood. Here is the finest steeple, save Salisbury's, in the land, and a grammar school counting on its roll Smith, Tennyson and Franklin. After tea a run of thirty-five miles over the wolds, passing Fillingham—where once Wycliffe was rector—brings you to Gainsboro', the St. Ogg's of George Eliot. Its old Manor Hall was the birthplace of the Pilgrim Church, and near by is the John Robinson Memorial Chapel. Thence a nineteen-mile run to Lincoln, a city enriched with minster, castle, stonebow, Newport

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## Ancient Cities

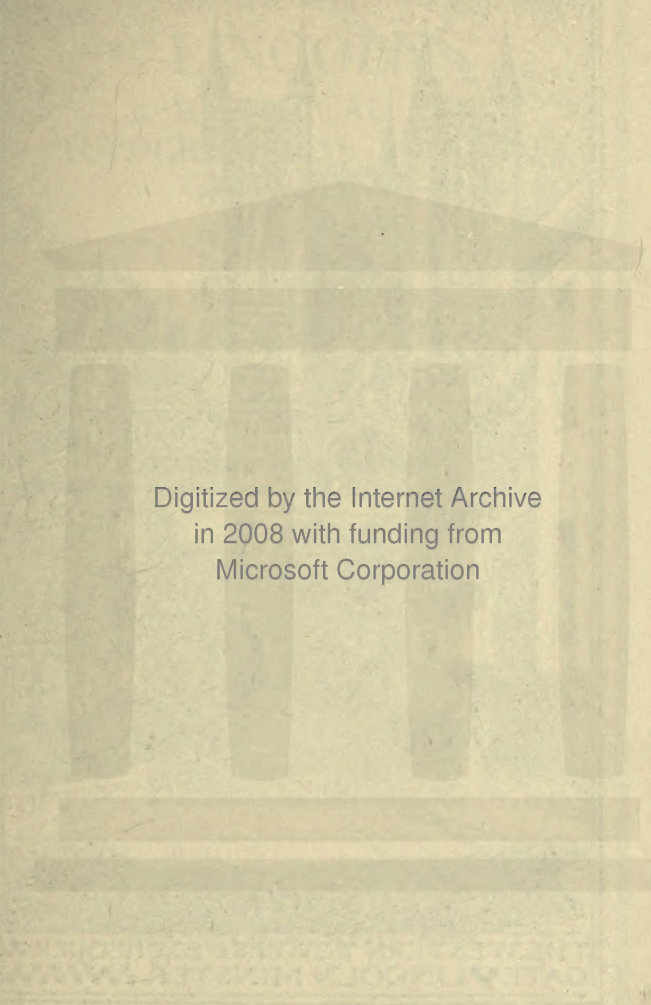
General Editor: B. C. A. WINDLE, F.R.S., F.S.A.

# LINCOLN

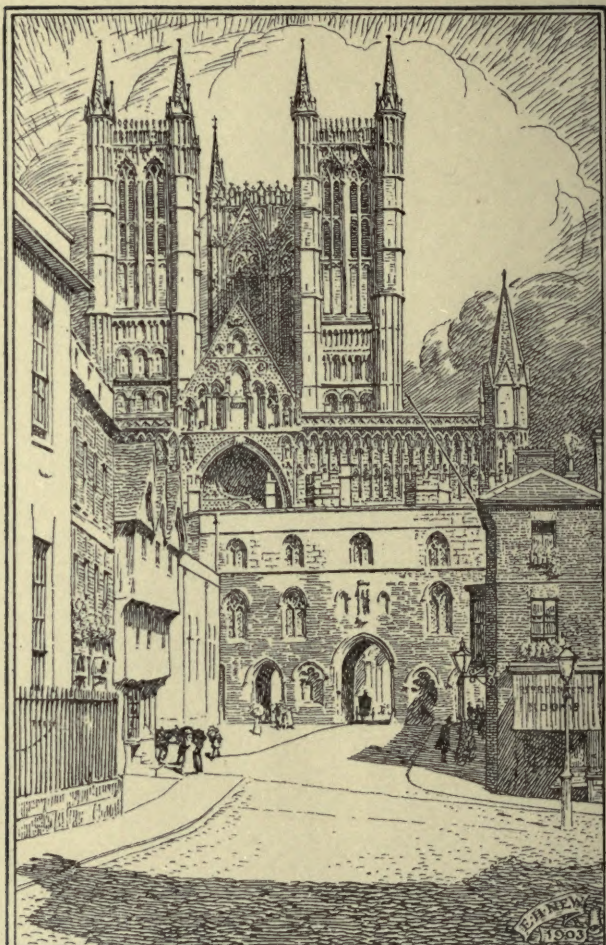
A HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL  
ACCOUNT OF THE CITY

**'THOU LINCOLN, ON THY SOVEREIGN HILL.'**





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THE WESTERN TOWERS & EXCHEQUER  
GATE LINCOLN MINSTER



LINCOLN  
A HISTORICAL AND  
TOPOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT  
OF THE CITY

WRITTEN BY  
E. MANSEL SYMPSON  
ILLUSTRATED BY  
E. H. NEW

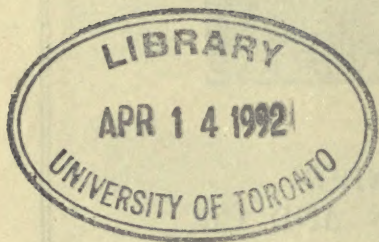


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TO THE MEMORY OF  
T[HOMAS] S[YMPSON]  
AUTHOR OF 'ADVERSARIA, OR COLLECTIONS FOR AN  
HISTORY OF THE CITY OF LINCOLN. INDIGESTA  
MOLES. MARCH 25, 1737' \*  
AND OF THE LATE  
EDMUND VENABLES  
PRECENTOR AND CANON RESIDENTIARY  
OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL  
THIS ACCOUNT OF  
THE CITY WHICH THEY LOVED, IN WHICH THEY  
DWELT, OF WHICH THEY WROTE  
IS DEDICATED BY  
THE AUTHOR

\* Also of *Lindum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of Lincoln*; both in the Gough MS. Collection (MS. Lincoln I.) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.



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## P R E F A C E

‘OTHER men laboured, and ye have entered into their labours,’ is a text peculiarly applicable to any one who takes in hand a subject about which so much has been written, as that of Lincoln and its Minster.

My best thanks, at all events, are particularly due to the Bodleian Library for access to the ancient chronicles mentioned in the dedication ; to the editors and publisher of *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, and to the writings of my friend the late Precentor Venables, the late Bishop Trollope of Nottingham, and Canon Maddison. All the quotations from early historical writers, such as William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and the like, are taken almost word for word from the translations in Bohn’s *Antiquarian Library*.

I have great pleasure in acknowledging Canon Harvey’s kind assistance in the chapter on Parish Churches.

Much use has been made of Murray’s *Handbook to the English Cathedrals*, Bradshaw and Wordsworth’s

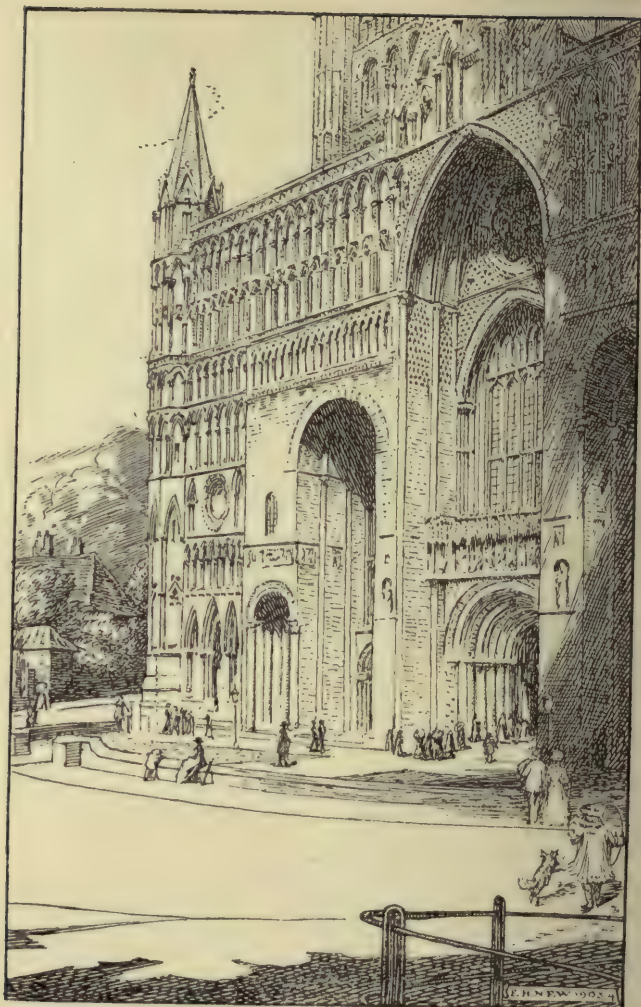


Preface     *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, Sir Charles Anderson's *Pocket Guide to Lincoln*, the various publications of Messrs. W. and B. Brooke of Lincoln, the *Reports and Papers of the Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, the publications of the Royal Archæological Institute, the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the very valuable and interesting Corporation Records of Lincoln published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

I must not conclude without thanking Mr. E. H. New for much kind and valued help, altogether apart from his especial province of lightening my pages with his most delightful illustrations. Mr. E. R. Taylor, of whom we both were pupils, has at least enabled me to recognise some of the great artistic merits of my colleague's work in the production of this book.

E. M. S.





WEST FRONT OF MINSTER



## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL INTRODUCTION AND EARLY HISTORY



ROMAN COLUMNS

IN any good map of the county of Lincoln a line of hills will be noticed running almost north and south, from ten to twenty miles east of the river Trent, beginning near the Humber on the north and ending near Grantham on the south. This line is really an escarpment facing west, rising from 100 to 200 feet out of the western plain, and sloping gradually down

towards the east. Geologically it is formed of the Lower Oolite series overlying the Lias, and in turn eastwards being overlaid by the Middle Oolite. At Lincoln it attains about its maximum height, *i.e.* some 200 feet above sea-level, and it will be observed that the river Witham, which has proceeded northwards from near Grantham, turns sharply to the south-east and pierces this line of cliff on its way to the sea at Boston.

Obviously some more powerful agency than that of the present river must have caused the gap where Lincoln stands, and it is fairly certain that the great river, the Trent, originally found its outlet along the present course of the Witham, though it probably took a more direct course by Dogdyke (*Dock Dyke* properly) to Wainfleet Haven and the sea.

Also from near Collingham, on the border of the county, through Swinderby and Hykeham, is to be found the gravel which once formed the bed of the river. At some period, the course of least resistance came to be in the direction of Gainsborough, and so on to the Humber, as at present. As a matter of fact, even now, if the Trent bank broke, a large part of the lower city of Lincoln would be flooded, as has been experienced in the past on several occasions.

At any time in the history of mankind, the elevated angle of cliff, where the Cathedral or Minster of Lincoln now stands, must have been recognised as one of great strength and of great importance from its command of country and of waterways.

Later on we shall see that the Romans took full advantage of this in placing their city, which from the roads leading to and from it, from the communications by water with the sea on the east and with the Trent on the west, and the great area of country which it protected, became one of the most important cities in the island.

‘Lincoln was, London is, and York shall be,  
The greatest city of the three,’

runs the old prophecy, which at least testifies to the greatness of the city formerly, though it may be feared that York has an insuperable task to get ahead of London, and so fulfil the saying. Its nearest chance of

so doing was considered to be after the great fire of London in 1666.

No doubt a punning allusion to this rhyme is to be found in some commendatory verses addressed to James Yorke, the Lincoln blacksmith, on his book *The Union of Honour*, which runs:

‘Though much of this city ruined lies,  
*Lincoln’s* still rich in *Yorke’s* antiquities.’

It goes without saying that the view from the hill (especially if the great Broad (or Rood) Tower of the Minster be ascended, thus gaining nearly 500 feet of height above sea-level) is very far-reaching.

On the east the whole range of the Wolds, or Lincolnshire chalk hills, is visible, from Pelham’s Pillar at the extreme north to their termination southwards below Spilsby and Horncastle. Low though the Wolds are in actual elevation, at their highest only about 600 feet, still when caught by the rays of the setting sun on a day of clear east wind, they stand out in glowing orange, red and gold, and are lovely as the hills of Beulah.

For miles the river Witham can be traced, flowing almost due east for six miles and then turning south-eastwards past Bardney, Tattershall, whose noble tower can be distinctly seen, to Boston, thirty miles away, whose church tower—a lantern—commonly called ‘The Stump,’ is plainly visible. Looking due north, the Ermine Street or Great North Road runs white and straight past Riseholme and Hackthorn and Spital on its way to the Humber. Looking north-westwards, the Saxon church at Stow may be seen, and the smoke of busy Gainsborough (the St. Oggs of George Eliot) some sixteen or seventeen miles off, and the line of Tillbridge Lane, and the waterway of the Fossdyke, and some shimmerings of the windings of the

General  
Intro-  
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Early  
History



Lincoln Trent. Westwards, the view stretches over the wide Vale of Trent to the Nottinghamshire hills, over Markham Moor and the woods of the Dukeries, and on rare occasions far beyond, to either Axe Edge, by Buxton in the Peak, or, more likely, to High Tor above Matlock, itself some forty-five or fifty miles distant.

At sunset, partly owing, no doubt, to the mists and exhalations of this great plain and river and to the vast expanse of sky, the magnificence of the sunsets is frequent and most remarkable, and equals in splendour any of those pictured in the prose poetry of Ruskin, or in the alas! too transient tints of Turner.

South-westwards the hill on which Belvoir Castle stands (and with a good glass the castle itself) can be clearly seen, and the long straggling line of the river Witham, and the edge of the cliff, by Harmston, Wellingore, and Leadenham to Hough-on-the-Hill. Like all Macaulay wrote in verse, the truth of his Armada lines strikes the spectator from the Minster or the castle:

‘Belvoir’s lordly towers the sign to Lincoln sent,  
And Lincoln sped the message on o’er the wide vale of Trent.’

From Belvoir the Minster stands out boldly, like a great ship ever pointing eastwards to the Holy Land and upwards to Heaven, as it does indeed from almost all points of the compass within ten to thirty miles.

Wonderfully picturesque Lincoln must have been in the earlier years of the last century, when it was called a City of Orchards; and the view from far down the High Street, with the red roofs, the abundance of apple-blossom, the stern grey castle, the Bishop’s Palace, and the Minster above all, must have been superb. For many a year, from the days of De Wint and Turner to the present, Lincoln has been beloved

of artists, and even the rapid growth of a manufacturing city, and the chimneys and their smoke, have left much, archæologically, historically, and æsthetically, for which to be thankful.

The castle, both inside and out, in spring, when the trees are in full bloom, is very beautiful; but of course the crowning glory of the city, and indeed the county, is the mighty Minster.

One to whom the present writer owed much used to say that she could be quite content to live near the ocean, a mountain, or a cathedral. And in many ways these three are alike; each changes in aspect with the continual change of night and day, of sun and moon, of cloud and shadow, of summer and winter, and yet amidst all change retains its own individuality.

Never, possibly, is the Minster more entrancing than in the early summer morning, when the sun has just risen over the Wolds from out the northern sea, red, as children think, from his bath, and the long range of roof and flying buttress, traceried windows, gables, towers, and spirelets glow with the keen penetrating light; the shadows are long and wellnigh horizontal, and the warmth of colour of the stone is enhanced in tone and splendour. Every particle of carved work on the great central tower and the two lesser western ones shows distinct yet delicate, like fretwork, or like lace, more exquisite than e'er was fashioned at Brussels or Valenciennes; and in very truth, in Wordsworth's impassioned phrase,

'Earth has not anything to show more fair.'

Probably, from the slight mistiness around, there is a great sense of loftiness, a great elevation of the great building, as if more than ever it was soaring into the empyrean. Later, the jackdaws circle round

Lincoln the towers with noise and bustle; there is a brisk clattering of footsteps as the workmen hurry down to work at the foundries in the lower town; every minute as the sun rises higher in the heavens, much of his colour and effect is lost, and soon the glamour evanesces 'and fades into the light of common day.'

The Minster at high noon, standing grey and clear against a bright blue sky: after sunset against a dark southern sky, when it appears almost white from the light still in the north-west: from Castle Hill at sunset, after a thunderstorm, when the towers and west front, washed with rain which brings out the orange tint of the stone, are thrown up by the background of the thunderclouds into a magnificent display of warm and glowing colour: evening, with the lower part of the Minster itself illuminated by the street lamps, making the roofs and towers disappear mysteriously into the upper air; or when the mists of autumn have risen, the great church seems stern and black in contrast with the fog which palpitates with the ruddy glow from the foundry fires below the hill. Or by moonlight, when the effects of light and shade, the shadows of the towers on the roof and walls, might serve to test the powers of a Méryon to the full.

On Coronation night when the very powerful electric light was placed on the central tower, the effects were still more wonderful, from the glistening silvery appearance set off against the blackest of shadow.

Very beautiful, too, is the Minster in winter, when the great expanse of high-pitched roof is whitened with snow, which frosts over the carved work of the towers, lies in horizontal lines on the louvre boards, edges pinnacles, parapets, and string-course, outlines the canopy over King Edward I. and his much-loved

Queen Eleanor, covers the arches of the flying buttresses till they look like gaunt white ribs against the dark sides of the nave and chancel, and if falling thick and fast, may change the Devil looking over Lincoln on a witch's back into a St. Anthony, or what one will, by the magic modelling of snow.

No view probably of the Minster and city surpasses that from the south side of the Witham near Washborough, especially at sunset, when the long line of roof is fore-shortened, the stately towers grouped finely, and the whole church stands grandly over the smoky city stretching down the hill and far into the valley.

Another fine view is from the top of Bunker's Hill, on the Wragby Road, about a mile and a half out, whence little of the city is seen and the Minster rises out of a mass of trees—a view which Mr. New has most happily caught.

Both north and south views are not so effective or pleasing, as the long sky-line of roof especially over the choir and presbytery wants breaking up.

In *Modern Painters* (vol. iv. p. 368) John Ruskin wrote: 'The only art work which France and England have done nobly is that which is centralised by the Cathedral Church of Lincoln and the Sainte Chapelle.'

Also writing to Mr. W. T. Page, at the time of the opening of the Science and Art Schools, he said: 'I have always held and am prepared against all comers to maintain that the Cathedral of Lincoln is out and out the most precious piece of architecture in the British Isles, and roughly speaking, worth any two other cathedrals we have got. Secondly. That the town of Lincoln is a lovely old English town, and I hope the Mayor and the Common Councilmen won't let any of it (not so much as a house corner)





ROMAN FOSSE, CASTLE, AND MINSTER, FROM THE NORTH

be pulled down to build an institution or a market, or a gunpowder or a dynamite mill, or a college or a gaol, or a barrack, or any other modern luxury.'

Lincoln—the present name of the city—is a curious and fortunate blend of its former British and Roman appellations. Its British name was probably Lindun, or Llyndon, derived from the Celtic Llyn or Lin, meaning a lake or pool (as in Welsh to this day), and Don or Dun, meaning a hill fort; the combination Lindun—the hill fort by the pool—very exactly expressing the situation of the town in British times, when all the country on the south and west was a swampy pool for many miles.

One of the earliest historians of the city, writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, says: 'Some have been of opinion that it (*i.e.* Lincoln) had its name from the river Witham, which waters the lower part of the town and was (as they would have it) antiently named Lindis: and so indeed Leland calls it, but is refuted by Cambden, who proves its



present name to have been the same five hundred years ago from these verses of Necham written so long since (A.D. 1157-1217):

“Trenta tibi pisces mittit Lincolnia, sed te  
Nec dedigneris Withama parvus adit.”

General  
Intro-  
duction  
and  
Early  
History

Thus Englished in Bishop Gibson's edition:

“Trent, Lincoln sends thee fish that load thy halls,  
And little Witham creeps along thy walls  
And waits on thee himself: ah, be not proud,  
Nor scorn the visit of the humble flood.”

Edmund Spenser seems to have been of the same way of thinking as Leland:

‘Lindus that his pikes doth most commend  
Of which the aunciente Lincolne men doe call.’  
*Faerie Queene*, iv. 11 xxxix.

And another poet, again, of our own time, and from this county, Jean Ingelow, writes in the beautiful poem on the ‘High Tide on the Coast of Lincolnshire in 1571’:

‘Where the reedy *Lindis* floweth.’

It is, consequently, not a little curious to find that Michael Drayton, a contemporary of Spenser's, gives the river its right name, in his *Polyolbion*, song xxv.:

‘By this to Lincoln come, upon whose lofty scite  
Whilst sistly Wytham looks with wonderful delight  
Enamoured of the state and beauty of the place  
That her of all the rest especially doth grace.’

And he makes the river boast:

‘Yet for my well-fed (or dainty) pikes I am without  
compare.’

And he quotes the saying:

‘Wytham eel and Ancum (Ancholme) pike  
In all the world there is none syke.’

The historian quoted above says further, in reference to the antiquity and foundation of Lincoln: 'The name of our city is a sufficient proof that it had being in the days of the Britons, it will be to little purpose to enquire after its founder, for at such an immense distance of time what account can be expected? Geoffrey of Monmouth, to whom so many other cities are indebted for the history of their originals, is (for ought I can find to the contrary) quite silent as to that of ours. But if any be delighted with such romantic stories, Harrison<sup>1</sup> will tell them that he found it in our histories that Lincoln was sometime builded by Lud, brother to Cassibelan, who called it *Caer-Ludcoit*. Now King Lud reigned, as the writers of the British story would have us believe, before Julius Cæsar came into Britain; and Cæsar's first landing here being about fifty-five years before the birth of Christ, the city by that reckoning must have been founded about eighteen hundred years ago. Spenser carries it still higher in a passage which I must not omit, as it doth honour our city by asserting its antiquity equal to that of the metropolis of Britain, for thus he sings of Brute:

"His worke great Troynovant, his worke is eke  
Faire Lincolne, both renowned far away;  
That who from East to West will endlong seeke,  
Cannot two fairer Cities find this day,  
Except Cleopolis."

*Faerie Queene*, III. 9 li.

Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Life of Remigius*, says, speaking of Lincoln, 'in summo apud Lincolniam montis vertice trans *Widhemam*.' As he spent six

<sup>1</sup> William Harrison, *Description of Britain* (England), 1577, p. 214.

years as a student at Lincoln from 1192 to 1198, his testimony to the river's real and ancient name is very valuable.

The city was also called by the British Lindcoit (or Luitcoit), a court in the woods, which has been supposed to be in allusion to the woods which may have surrounded it; but there seems more reason that it originated in a misreading of the inscription Lind-Civt, or Lindum Civitas.

The name Lindon was Romanised into Lindum, and, as will be seen presently, the city had rank as a colonia, or colony.

With the possible exception of Colchester in this country, which takes the first half of its name almost certainly from the river Colne, and the actual exception of Köln or Cologne (*Colonia Agrippinæ*) in Europe, no other city has retained any trace of having been a Roman colony in its name at the present day.

Having thus been known as Lindum Colonia, it was called by the English (or Anglo-Saxons) Lindo-Collyne and Lindocyllanceaster (the ceaster, chester, or cester being a term probably applied to Roman fortifications in which stone was at least partially used).

These terms may be either a second allusion to the hill in the name, or a corruption of the Roman Lindum Colonia, which seems much more likely.

By Bede our city was referred to as Lindicollinum, and Lindecollina civitas. By the Normans it is transformed into Nicole, an interesting case of transposition of letters; and it will be found that wherever the French language is used in the Rolls of Parliament, the city appears as Nicole, wherever the Latin, as *Lincolnia*.

‘As may be seen,’ remarks our historian, ‘among

Lincoln other instances in a writ of privy seal of the thirty-fifth year of Edward the First, commanding Ralph de Baldock, Bishop of London, then Lord Chancellor, to write to the Pope and some cardinals for the canonisation of Robert Groteste l'evesque de *Nicole*. So it is named in the statute concerning sheriffs, enacted in the ninth year of Edward the Second, a son parliament a *Nycole*; and in the return of a writ for the election of two citizens to serve in parliament, in the fifteenth year of the same king: as also in several original deeds in my own possession, down as low as the time of King Henry the Sixth.'

The first notice of this city occurs in the geography of Claudius Ptolemaeus, who flourished about the year A.D. 120, wherein he mentions the British (presumably Celtic) tribe of the Coritani or Coritavi (a word supposed to be derived from the British word Cor—sheep, and Yehen—oxen), which inhabited the present counties of Lincolnshire, Rutlandshire, Leicestershire, part of Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, and (according to Camden) Derbyshire. Their two chief towns he declares to be Lindum (Lincoln), and Rage or Rhage or Ratae (Leicester). Another variant in the name of this tribe is Coitani, meaning the foresters or woodmen, which may have been given to the inhabitants of a tract of country overspread with woods, though these have disappeared almost entirely.

It has just been stated that the word Lindum is evidently a British name slightly Latinised. Exactly where this British town was situated is not certainly known. The antiquary Stukeley was disposed to place its site on the north-west bank of Brayford (the pool formed by the Witham and the Fossdyke) not far from the water. But this position, close to the water and below the hill, would seem



to be lacking in all principles of defence, and not at all to tally with the early name—the *hill-fort* by the water. Others, such as Leland, have suggested that some existing earthworks about 750 yards north of the north wall of the Roman city may mark the position of the earliest town. These earthworks are rectangular, composed only of a single ditch and rampart almost exactly bisected by the Roman Ermine Street, and more than 1000 yards from the crest of the hill. Consequently in all these particulars they agree but little with what is known of British camps and forts, of which the chief characteristics are that full advantage in constructing them was taken of the natural strength of the position to be fortified, that the entrenchments were multiple, and often circular, practically never rectangular.

Now, *the* place where one would expect to find a British encampment in or around Lincoln is where the existing castle stands, *i.e.* on the highest part of the cliff and close to its edge, and I believe (with the late M. H. Bloxam) that here was the site, in all probability, of the original British town. The castle earthworks (as will be seen later on) comprise an earthen rampart and ditch along three sides of the area, and two mounds. In one of these sides (the west) was found buried the Roman west gate of the city, and the smaller mound (on which stands the observatory) extends southwards of the line of the Roman wall, so that obviously neither of these can be of pre-Roman date.

The larger mound (which is crowned by the keep) may possibly be British in origin, and this may explain why there are two mounds in this castle (as at Lewes, at Cardiff, where there are three, and as was the case at Hereford, where the keep mound



Lincoln has been removed), instead of the more general number of one.

Of the conquest of the Coritani, and therefore of Lincolnshire by the Romans, no history is extant, having been written, possibly, in the lost books of Tacitus. In this, whether in reality or by accident, they differed much from their immediate neighbours the Brigantes, on the north of the county (who inhabited Yorkshire with part of Westmorland, Cumberland, and Durham), and the Iceni on the south of it (who dwelt in Norfolk and Suffolk, Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire), who were both troublesome and dangerous enemies to the invaders not once or twice.

Ostorius Scapula who commanded in Britain A.D. 50, and Suetonius Paulinus A.D. 61, must have conquered, pacified, and passed through the territory of the Coritani before proceeding to attack and subdue the Brigantes, and the former tribe must have been thoroughly overcome by the time of Petilius Cerealis, who in A.D. 70 made a very successful campaign against these same Brigantes. This part of the country must have been securely held too, when the celebrated general Julius Agricola, in A.D. 78, pushed northwards the power of Rome to the Grampian Hills and the Firth of Forth, and consolidated his own and previous conquests.

In all probability we owe to the last-named general the establishment of various camps and stations such as Lindum Colonia, and the formation of connecting roads, without which his expeditions northwards would have been perilous to a degree and wellnigh impossible. Tacitus says, 'that many states which had laid aside their animosity and had delivered hostages, were surrounded with castles and forts, disposed with so much attention and judgment, that

no part of Britain, hitherto new to the Roman arms, escaped unmolested. The succeeding winter (*i.e.* A.D. 80) was employed in the most salutary measures. In order by a taste of pleasures to reclaim the natives from that rude and unsettled state which prompted them to war and to reconcile them to quiet and tranquillity, he incited them by private instigation and public encouragements to erect temples, courts of justice, and dwelling-houses.'

Much of the remains of Roman Lincoln, to be described presently, probably date from this period. If Lindum had been a station previously it might owe its selection to Aulus Plautius (in the time of the Emperor Claudius), Ostorius, or Petilius, but it is noticeable that Tacitus expressly states that Camalodunum (Colchester), though a colony, had no fortifications. In the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) all Britain south of the Tyne and Solway Firth was formed into one Roman province. Under the Emperor Severus (A.D. 193-211) this was divided into two parts, Britannia Superior and Inferior, the line of demarcation running, as it seems, from the Humber to the Mersey: and so Lincolnshire would form part of the inferior division.

Under Diocletian (A.D. 284-305) a further partition was made of the island into five provinces: that which embraced Lincolnshire was bounded by the Thames, Severn, Mersey, and Humber, and was called Flavia Caesariensis. Three Roman legions were stationed permanently in Britain: the second at Isca Secunda or Silurum (Caerleon on Usk), the twentieth at Deva (Chester), and the sixth (with possibly some portion of the ninth), at Eboracum (York).

About 1840 a tombstone to a soldier of the ninth legion was discovered in or near the east wall of the

**Lincoln** lower Roman city west of Lindum Road, the inscription reading as follows: LUCII SEMPRONII FLAVINI MILITIS LEGIONIS VIII QUESTORIS ALAUDAE JULII SEVERI AERUM VII ANNORUM XXX ISPANICA ALERIA CIVITAS MATERNA. (The tomb of Lucius Sempronius Flavinus, a soldier of the ninth legion, questor of the Alauda of Julius Severus of seven campaigns and of thirty years of age. Aleria of Spain was his mother city.)

Julius Severus, thus mentioned in the epitaph, was a governor of Britain under the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117-138).

Another inscription to a soldier of the same legion was found in 1865 in Salt House Lane, far down the High Street near Gowts Bridge. The stone was 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 8 inches thick, and had been fixed originally in a stone pediment. The top was cut in common Roman altar form, with triangular features on either side, below which are circles containing leaf-like ornaments carved in shallow relief. Beneath, in a sunk panel, with a moulded border, is inscribed in large legible letters: CAIO SAUFEIO, CAII FILIO, FABIO HERENNIO, MILITI LEGIONIS NONAE ANNORUM XXXX, STIPENDIORUM XXII HIC SITUS EST.

A most interesting discovery took place on April 2, 1879, in the very centre of the first Roman city of Lindum Colonia in Bailgate, where the four main streets of the city met, when a milestone (which is now in the cathedral cloisters) was dug up. It has the following inscription: IMP. CÆS. MARCO PIAVONIO VICTORI NO FP INV AUG PONT MAX TRP PP AL—S—M P XIII, which has been Englished thus: Under the Empire of Cæsar Marcus Piavonius Victorinus, the pious, fortunate, unconquerable Augustus, chief Pontiff, invested with tribunician

power, father of his country. From Lindum to Segelocum fourteen miles. The name of Victorinus has also been found on a milestone at Pyle, near Neath in South Wales, showing that in the extreme east and extreme west his authority was recognised. Coins of his (with a very characteristic face and headdress with rays) also have been found in the Bail of Lincoln. He was one of the so-called Thirty Tyrants, and he reigned as emperor from A.D. 265 to 267. He was the third in succession who ruled over Gaul and Britain during the time of the weak Emperor Gallienus. During the reign of Diocletian, in A.D. 287, occurred the revolt of Carausius, who was placed in command of the Roman fleet which had its headquarters at Boulogne. From this port he sailed across to Britain, persuaded the legion and auxiliaries who guarded the island (for it was but lightly defended at that time) to take part with him, and assumed the purple and the title of Augustus.

For seven years he possessed Britain, having been acknowledged as Cæsar by the Emperor Diocletian and his three associates in the purple, Maximian (an especial foe to Carausius, whom he had tried to assassinate), Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, in A.D. 289. A coin of Diocletian with the words PAX AUGG on the reverse, struck specially in honour of this peace, has been found in the city. For Lincoln, Carausius has a particular interest. He is believed to have spent some of his time as emperor here, and many of his coins have been found in the city.

Prebendary Sympson (son of the antiquary mentioned in the Dedication) saw two of his coins, with one of Vespasian, Nero, and a silver one of Julian the Apostate, discovered among the runnel or loose stones which filled the middle of the north-western Roman wall, when it was being pulled down



Lincoln in the last half of the eighteenth century. A votive tablet was found among the ruins of the wall, inscribed M. LA. ETII F. MAX. ET M. I. (Marcus Laelius Aetii filius, Maximo et Maximo Jovi: probably dedicated to the Emperor Maximus.) In 1785, in the inner side of the north Roman wall west of Newport Arch, was found a sepulchral slab inscribed as follows: DIS MANIBUS FL(AVIUS) HELIUS NATIONE GRECUS VIXIT ANNOS XXXX FL(AVIA) INGENUA CONJUGI POSUIT. [To the gods of the Shades below. Flavius Helius, by birth a Greek, lived forty years. The noble Flavia placed (this tablet) to (the memory of) her husband.]

This part of the Roman wall then must be about the date of the reign of Carausius, to which also the existing Newport Arch (possibly replacing an older one, as the name seems to imply) may probably belong; as he would naturally strengthen and repair his forts and camps all over the country, in order to make his position the more secure. In the eighth year of his reign he was killed by his first minister Allectus, who in the course of a few months lost the command of the island, which was speedily reconquered by the Associate Emperor Constantius Chlorus and the Prefect Asclepiodatus.

As Lindum also the city is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus (the Emperor Caracalla), which was compiled probably about the years 211 to 217 A.D. (though by some authorities it has had an earlier date assigned to it, *i.e.* in the reign of Hadrian). It was either a public directory or guide for the use of soldiers, or the notes of an officer made on his visits to the principal parts of the empire.

From what has been said, from the fact that Lindum appears as Lindum Colonia in the later Ravenna Catalogue, from the Saxon, Norman, and



present form of the name, it is fairly certain that the Roman city of Lincoln was of colonial rank.

The next mention of the city is probably found in the records of the Council or Synod of Arles (one of the oldest cities of France, situated on a principal branch of the Rhone, about fifty miles from Marseilles) in A.D. 314. There were present at this Council three bishops from Britain, and the third one was accompanied by a presbyter and deacon, whose names are also given. These bishops were Eborius (or Eburius) of York, Bishop of the city of York, and of the province of Britain; Restitutus, Bishop of the city of London, and of the aforesaid province, and 'Adelfius Episcopus, de civitate Coloniae Londinensium.'

Adelfius also only signs the letter from the Council to the Pope (Sylvester), unless Hibernius is meant for Eborius of York.

Now it is almost a certainty that there would not be, A.D. 314, *two* Bishops of London, so that there is evidently some mistake in the account. Haddon and Stubbs suggest that the last word 'Londinensium' possibly should be 'Legionensium,' the City of the Legions, which would be Caerleon on Usk, or Chester, and that probably the bishops belonged to the Roman cities which were the capitals of the several Roman provinces. The more usual term for Caerleon seems to be either Isca Secunda or Silurum, and for Chester Deva, and if the British bishops represented cities of the various provinces of Britain it is quite as likely that Lindum was the representative city of the province Flavia Caesariensis, as Eboracum was of Maxima Caesariensis. Hence it is far more probable that the explanation of the entry is that it is a scribe's blunder, writing directly after he had written 'Londinensi' 'Londinensium,' instead of

Lincoln 'Lindonsensium' or 'Lindensium,' 'of the dwellers in Lindum.' If so, here we have the solitary record—the earliest one—of Christianity in this city amid the darkness which enshrouds its first introduction into the Roman Britain.

The *first* Roman city of Lindum Colonia embraced an area of about 38 acres on the summit of the cliff, and was constructed on the same lines as the camps made by Roman armies on the march. In plan it was almost a perfect square with the sides facing the cardinal points of the compass. The eastern and western sides measure each about 440 yards in length, and the northern and southern about 425 yards. On the west, north, and east it was bounded by a broad and deep ditch or fosse, which still in some parts is about 80 feet wide and 20 feet deep. On the south the steep slope of the cliff probably presented sufficient defence without any necessity of constructing the ditch. The inner edge or escarp of this ditch, and the earthen rampart or vallum formed by the earth thrown up out of the ditch, was faced with a very thick and massive stone wall, 10 to 12 feet thick, and 20 to 25 feet in height. Midway in each wall it was pierced by a gate, giving exit to one of the four cross-roads which divided the city into four quarters. The main outlines of the fortifications can be easily made out, and considerable remains still exist. The north wall commenced at the north-west angle of the waterworks reservoir and ran due east to Bailgate, the ditch and earthen rampart being very evident, and some fragments of the wall still standing, just north of the east end of Chapel Lane. Where it crosses Bailgate is the famous Newport Arch (the only existing Roman city gate in England), the Porta Principalis Sinistra, which forms the entrance to the



city from the north. This arch is 16 feet in diameter, and is constructed of twenty-six large wedge-shaped stones (from the oolite limestone of the neighbourhood) fitted together without a keystone. The height of the arch is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet, of which some 8 feet are buried in the roadway. On either side of the arch are laid seven courses of horizontal stones, called springers, some of them 6 or 7 feet long, intended to take off the side pressure from the arch. One stone alone, just at the spring of the arch on its

Lincoln west side next to the white brick wall, shows signs of having been moulded.

On its northern face the arch is strengthened by two buttresses some 3 feet thick by 1 to 2 feet deep, extending up the whole height of the wall. Originally there were two posterns or side arches, but the western one was destroyed when the adjacent house was built about one hundred years ago. The diameter of the side arch is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  feet, the height in all 15 feet, of which about  $8\frac{1}{4}$  feet are buried still. The width of the whole gateway front is  $22\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and the total height  $37\frac{1}{2}$  feet. It is very noticeable that this gateway is not in the line of the Roman north wall on the edge of the ditch, but is set 20 feet or more to the south of it. This may be due to one of two causes.

As suggested above, probably Carausius repaired and strengthened the walls, gates, and earthworks of the city, and he may have rebuilt the north-western wall and the existing north gate (Newport Arch) afresh to replace an older one which was in ruins and on a more northern site. This would form, at all events, a satisfactory explanation of its name of Nova Porta—Newport.

But it is more probable that here we have remaining only the south face or part of the original gate, and that flush with the wall, 20 feet or so north of the existing gate, there was another similar gate. The space between the gates, being walled in laterally, would serve as a useful *place d'armes* for collecting a body of soldiers wherewith to make a sally out on the besieging forces, as well as an additional means of defence to the besieged when once the outer gate was forced, as from all three sides missiles could be brought to bear on the in-rushing soldiers. The gateway into Herculaneum



from Pompeii had a central arched passage and two similar lateral archways, and it had a double gate exactly as has just been suggested for this Lincoln gateway. According to Mr. F. Haverfield,<sup>1</sup> the north and south gates at Caerwent, Monmouth, comprised each two arches, one facing the town, and one the country. The space between the arches was presumably roofed over.

The description later on of the west Roman city gate supports the likelihood of this suggestion being correct, as does also the sketch by Buck of Newport Arch in Gough's *Camden's Britannia*, where is evident through the present arch the springing of an arch some 20 feet or so to the northwards. Brooke says, 'it has not the form of an arch, but rather of beams supported on piers and themselves supporting several courses of stone work,'<sup>2</sup> but probably the outer northern arch was more or less ruined in the course of Lincoln's numerous sieges (especially when the Earl Marshal broke in at this very gate and defeated the Lewisian army commanded by the Comte de Perche), and more modern work would take its place. The line of wall extended eastwards from Newport Arch, south of Church Lane, and the ditch here is very well marked both in breadth and depth. A huge fragment of the wall can be seen in the field between Church Lane and the East Bight (Bight meaning a bend or turn, and being applied to the pathway leading round within the walls; so we have here East Bight, and on the other side of Bailgate West Bight). This portion of the wall has lost its stone facings on both sides, and is mainly a mass of concrete imbedding pebbles and small stones and

<sup>1</sup> *Athenæum*, February 25, 1905.

<sup>2</sup> *A Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Lincoln*. Lincoln : W. and B. Brooke, 290 High Street, 1840-1848.



Lincoln some courses of flat stones placed slanting on their edges, alternately sloping to right and left like the backbone of a fish, the so-called herring-bone work which in Roman wall construction extends through the whole thickness of the wall, but when imitated afterwards by the Normans only serves for a facing to the rubble inside.

Just to the north-east of the corner of East Bight the north and east walls met, and a small summer-house now marks their junction, where exist the foundations of a large circular bastion of 9 feet interior diameter. (These corner bastions are represented at York by the fine Roman multangular tower near St. Mary's Abbey.)

From this the east wall runs along the east side of East Bight to the street called Eastgate. Considerable remains of the wall are extant, and the ditch is comparatively perfect for most of the way. The east gate—Porta Praetoria—was a little north of the street, just opposite the north-east corner of the Deanery Stables. It was entire so recently as 1740—having only been rediscovered ten years previously—walled up and forming part of the north gable end of a dwelling-house, on the one side, a stable being built against it on the other. It was of the same dimensions, *i.e.* 15 feet diameter, as the Newport Arch, and was constructed in the same manner, *i.e.* a semicircle of large stones of a coarse grit, except that the arch had a keystone in the crown.

As the ground was raised 10 or 12 feet just to the very spring of the arch, the posterns were quite buried. About the year 1730, Lord Burlington caused the rubbish to be dug up to the foundations of the jambs on each side, and had it quite opened out. It was, unfortunately, pulled down by Sir Cecil

Wray (of Fillingham, where he also built Summer Castle) when he erected the red brick house hard by. A strong concrete platform, on which ballistra or large catapults would probably stand, was found just west of the site of this arch in 1890.

Southwards, the Roman east wall ran from the eastern gateway across the street and along the eastern side of the deanery and the cloisters. When the chapter-house was being restored a few years ago, one of the piers supporting a flying buttress was discovered to have been planted on the site of the ditch, and to have had no foundations at all. From the cloisters the line of the wall went through the eastern transepts of the Minster to the garden of Cantilupe Chantry where it joined the south Roman wall on the edge of the steep cliff. This latter proceeding westwards bounds the north side of the Bishop's Palace grounds, and forms the south wall of the sub-deanery and precentory gardens. No remains of the Roman wall in this part of its course are evident, though no doubt the existing partially mediæval walls are on its lines. It crosses Bailgate (here called Steep Hill) at the Leopard Tavern.

The south gate—the *Porta Principalis Dextra*—was of similar character to the north gate, but it was pulled down about two hundred years ago, 'though not without much difficulty,' says T. S., 'as I have been informed by an eye-witness; for when the workmen, with a great deal of labour and pains, had battered one of the stones in the crown of the arch in pieces, the rest being laid without mortar, sunk so equally on both sides that the arch hung as firm as ever, and their work was to begin anew.' The wall is evident on the west side of the street some 10 or 12 feet high and 3 or 4 feet thick, and just

Lincoln below the Leopard Tavern on the eastern side can be seen the commencement of the spring of the arch, of which about the outer third was partially visible in 1788. Within the adjacent house still exists the eastern postern of seven-foot diameter. The wall on the western side of the street was exposed very clearly some three or four years ago, when some new houses were being built in Wordsworth Street, the stone face and the concreted rubble interior being well shown. Thence it proceeded westwards between the castle and Drury Lane (which it crossed just opposite the brewery), part of it being submerged in the mound on which the observatory stands (thus giving strong evidence that the mound was subsequent in date to the Roman wall).

At the south-west angle of the castle it joined the Roman west wall which ran due north in the line of the present castle earthen rampart (in which it probably still exists) and wall to a little north of the sally-port. Here (as prophesied by Sympson a hundred years before<sup>1</sup>) was found in 1836 the west gate, or *Porta Decumana*, embedded in the later earthen rampart. Unfortunately it collapsed under the weight of earth above it, and was either covered up again or removed in pieces. It was apparently very similar to the north gate already described, measuring about 15 feet in the clear, and being composed of about the same number of large ponderous stones, 4 feet deep from front to back, 2 feet high, and from 12 to 18 inches broad. On each side the masonry was carried up above

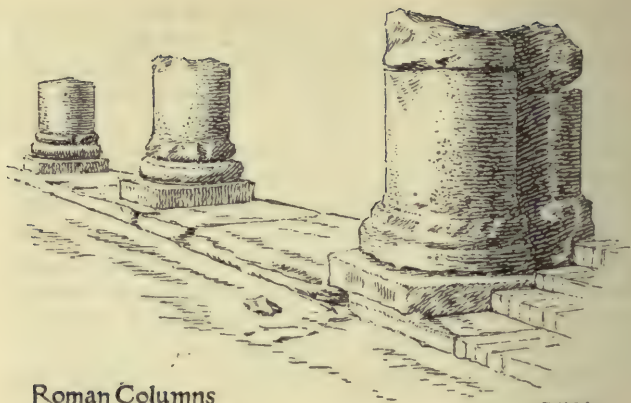
<sup>1</sup> 'The west gate, if ever there was one, must have stood whereabouts the sally-port of the castle is now; for that as near as I can judge is directly opposite to the other. It was, in all likelihood, demolished when the conqueror built the castle, in the south-west of the city; and the sally-port built in its place, in a manner better suiting the design of the architect.'

the crown of the arch for about 12 feet, forming two pillars or wings measuring 7 feet by 4: and between these, the workmen represented, there were the remains of three smaller arches forming three openings 4 feet wide over the centre of the great gate. The masonry on the north side was forced over by the workmen, and part of the square return-wall of the gate was then disclosed to view. This showed another opening towards the north, of the same width and on the same level as those mentioned in the west front, and there were marks of timber flooring. Probably this was only the outer gateway, and, if so, the inner gateway—corresponding to the existing Newport Arch—remains buried in the earthen mound.

The crown of the arch was about 19 feet below the castle walls, about 35 feet in front of them, and the entire front, facing west, occupied a space of 33 feet. The posterns, if there were any to this gateway, were not exposed to view, as according to the sketches made at the time of the discovery, the earth had not been removed sufficiently low to show them. Also, judging from the same sketch, the upper part of the gate above the arch was built of much smaller stones than the corresponding portion of Newport Arch.

Hence the wall crossed the ditch (a wall still exists in the same line) and Westgate, and, at the north-west angle of the waterworks reservoir, joined the north Roman wall. The two cross-roads which have been mentioned as passing right across the city from gate to gate, are but roughly and inaccurately represented at the present day—the *Via Principalis* by Steep Hill and Bailgate running north and south, and the *Via Decumana* by Eastgate and Westgate, east and west. Probably for this the





Roman Columns  
*in Bailgate*

frequent sieges of the city, its destruction by fire in post-Roman times, and earthquakes are responsible. Westgate, too, may have been turned northwards out of its direct course by the construction of the great mound and wall on the north side of the castle.

In May 1878, in Bailgate, on its western side, nearly 100 feet north of its junction with Westgate, were found the bases and parts of the shafts of three columns of the Doric order, the northernmost being double, the columns inosculating. In January 1887, parts of three more columns were found, south of those first discovered; in April 1891, eleven more; and in 1897 two were found, as expected, just north of the corner of Westgate and Bailgate. They are placed in a straight line north and south, at intervals of 16 feet, and at a depth below the surface of the modern street of about 9 feet 5 inches, and would probably form the eastern colonnade, 184

feet in length, of the Forum of the Roman city. The sixth column (from the north) has also been double, but of much clumsier work than the others, and the seventh is actually trebled, almost certainly to make additional support for the portico. Southwards from the Forum comes a pair of inosculating columns, four single columns and another pair of inosculating columns, making altogether a façade—of a temple, perhaps—of 77 feet in length. A line drawn from the site of the Roman Eastgate to that of the Westgate passes through the interval between these two buildings which is 16 feet wide, the same as the opening of the Roman Arch at Newport, and on both sides of this space, at the foot of the pairs of twin columns, the pavement of local stone of the sidewalks was found to be much worn by the feet.

The diameter of the columns is 2 feet 7 inches, which would give their height when entire to be about 20 feet, making the height of the building (with the entablature and probably a triangular pediment) about 30 feet.

A tessellated pavement of plain cubes, discovered on the site of the new church of St. Paul's, probably belonged to the northernmost building. Its north wall still partially exists, about 150 feet westward of these columns, in a large fragment, running east and west, called the Mint Wall (the name would be given in later times). It is about 30 feet high by about 70 feet long, and is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet thick. It is formed of stone and triple courses of tile binding which go through the wall, there being 5 feet of ashlar betwixt the triple bondings. The stones, about 9 inches thick, are hammer dressed, the joints wide and the mortar hard, being mixed with coarse sand and pounded brick. The stone is oolite from

Lincoln the Lincoln quarries; one of the best and most durable layers having been chosen. The core is filled with rubble mixed with large quantities of brick, which in some parts quite fills up the interior. The bricks are 2 inches thick by 11 inches wide, and 17 inches in length. The first course is a double one, about 2 feet above ground; about 2 feet higher comes a triple course; and above that four more similar ones, each distant 5 feet from the other.

The reddened hue of the columns (and this may be noticed also in Newport Arch postern), the lumps of molten lead and pieces of charred wood found among the débris, showed that the building was consumed by fire. On the eastern side of Bailgate, 27 feet from the columns first discovered, was found a row of six piers, constructed of flat tiles moulded to the shape of the pier, which was rudely cruciform with a circular half shaft to the street. These may have belonged to a row of shops, or of chambers for the use of clerks from the Forum or Basilica opposite. Along the centre of the Roman street now represented by Bailgate and Steep Hill runs a well-constructed Roman sewer, about 10 feet below the surface, the whole length of the thoroughfare, with subsidiary sewers for the side-streets which run at right angles to it.

Mention has already been made of some earthworks at the north extremity of the suburbs of Newport, about 750 yards due north of the Roman arch. The north front of these earthworks is composed of a single vallum or rampart, with a ditch in front of it; it is about 350 yards in length, and is practically bisected by the Ermine Street. From each end (where some mapmakers place a small bastion) the entrenchments run southwards towards the city for about a quarter of a mile. The ram-

part and ditch are well marked in the field north of the Diocesan Training College, on the east side of the road; while the ditch, altered and deepened for quarrying stone, is very manifest on the western side. For the reasons above detailed, there is but little doubt that these are Roman outworks, part of the fortified area usually attached to a Roman city, to defend the store of cattle from attack.

But the Roman city, as just described, was not large enough for its inhabitants, and at some period subsequent to that of the erection and defence of the upper city, a large area—about twice the size of the original one—was added by the simple and satisfactory plan of prolonging the eastern and western walls southwards till they came within about 80 yards of the water.

Part of the commencement of the eastern wall prolongation still exists, dividing the Bishop's Palace grounds from the Vicars' Court: thence it ran south through the Temple Gardens to the west side of Lindum Road, the ditch called the Were Dyke being evident in the upper part of its course. While the foundations of this part of the wall were being removed in 1791, a Roman patera was found. Here also was found the tombstone quoted above, and another inscribed as follows: DOMO CLAUDIAE CRISIDI VIXIT AN(N)O(S) LXXX HEREDES P.C.—*i.e.* 'To Crisis (who) lived eighty years in the house of Claudia, her heirs placed (this monument).' At the junction of Silver Street and Broadgate was a gateway called afterwards Claxlide or Clasket-gate, from which probably a Roman road ran due east—the present Monks' Road. The foundations of the wall were plainly seen when excavations were going on for the erection of the Constitutional Club at this corner. Thence it ran southwards to St. Swithin's Square, and in



Lincoln Speed's map of the city, dated 1610, this part of the wall is very noticeable from Clasket-gate to its termination in a corner tower or bastion at Tower Garth, near the Green Dragon. Indeed, considerable remains of it existed well into the nineteenth century, some of which were removed in levelling Sheep Square, where now stands the new church of St. Swithin's. Turning westwards, it ran to the Stonebow, skirting the south side of old St. Swithin's Churchyard, where pieces of it were seen some fifteen years ago at a depth of about 3 feet 6 inches below the surface. The wall was 7 feet thick and of good solid masonry. In 1884, in digging the foundations of St. Swithin's tower and spire, was discovered, at the depth of some 13 feet below the ground level, a very perfect Roman altar with the following inscription: *PARCIS DEABUS ET NUMINIBUS AUG. C. ANTISTIVS FRONTINVS CVRATOR TER A.R. D.L.D.—i.e. 'To the Goddesses the Parcae (Fates) and to the Deities of Augustus, Caius Antistius Frontinus being Curator for the third time, dedicates this altar at his own cost.'*

When the kitchen to the east of the Guildhall, which was formerly the city prison, was being taken down, a large number of Roman coins were found, with the brick matrices in which they were cast. (In 1865 also some Roman coin-moulds of clay were discovered in the city, intended to give the portraiture of Elagabalus, Caracalla, Plautilla, and Orbiana.) The second south Roman wall was also exposed even with the north front of the Stonebow. It was fully 5 feet thick, constructed of unhewn stones, embedded in clay instead of mortar, and its south or external face showed signs of having been repaired at different times. Five feet below the pavement, a stratum of mussel-shells was dis-

covered firmly placed in black silt, at least a foot in thickness, and below this the soil consisted of thin laminae of various substances evidently deposited by the action of water. About the same date the wall was exposed on the west side of the Stonebow, along Guildhall Street, where it exhibited similar characteristics, being about 15 feet high in places on its south front, the ground north of it being much higher. The Stonebow almost certainly stands on the site of the second Roman Southgate of the city. From Guildhall Street the wall ran westwards along Newland to Lucy Tower Street, where it joined the western wall which had been prolonged southwards. A gate existed here—Newland Gate—in mediæval times, and it possibly was on the site of a former Roman one.

Proceeding northwards, a footway leads upwards through Beising or Besom Park, actually on the Roman vallum or rampart, and crosses West Parade to go tolerably straight up the steep ascent of Motherby Hill. Here a tombstone was dug up to a decurio of the second ala or wing of the Asturian troops—the Spanish legion. Here also, on the western side of the footpath, the ditch is markedly in evidence, and portions of the wall can be seen in the foot of the walls bounding the path on its eastern side. From the top of Motherby Hill the wall crossed Drury Lane and joined the original west wall at the south-west corner of the castle, where a large fragment of it still exists.

It need scarcely be stated that within the circuit of the Roman walls very few excavations (whether for foundations of houses, the laying of water-mains, the construction of sewers, and the like) have been made without bringing to light more or less interesting remains of Roman and Romano-British art and

Lincoln life: unfortunately, owing to the lack of a museum, most of these have gone irretrievably from the city.

In 1786 two very handsome Roman tessellated pavements were found in the castle, with a Roman bath, some coins, and fragments of Samian ware. In 1846 at the north-east angle of the county prison within the castle, a Roman tessellated pavement measuring 17 feet by 12 feet, extending over a hypocaust and buried 12 feet below the level of the ground was discovered. The tessellated pavement beneath St. Paul's Church has been already mentioned.

In 1793 a Roman tessellated pavement was discovered in the middle of the Minster Cloister Green (it, with the next mentioned, is preserved in the cloisters below the Library staircase).

In 1879 another pavement was found just west of the Exchequer Arch, with basement rooms of a large villa. In 1739 a Roman hypocaust covered with a tessellated pavement, beneath some stone coffins, was explored beneath the Precentory (it was figured in the *Vetusta Monumenta* of the Society of Antiquaries).

Another hypocaust, or sudatory, was discovered in 1782 near the King's Arms, towards the upper end of the High Street. In 1884, on digging foundations of the corner house of Bailgate and Eastgate, opposite the White Hart Hotel, a crematory furnace was opened out, with a sarcophagus, and ten vases of red, green, and cream colour, one of which was handled like an egg-shaped coffee-pot. In Eastgate also, 20 yards west of James Street, was a well-like shaft, 24 feet deep, with chambers at the bottom of it 8 feet by 6 feet wide; in each of the shorter sides, east and west, was an arch 7 feet high and 2 feet broad without a keystone.

Among the miscellaneous remains turned up in

the city of Lincoln the following may be mentioned : bone skates, of which perhaps the date is uncertain ; a massive armlet of jet, flat on its inner side ; cinerary urns, bronze lamps and ornaments of bronze, buckles, bells, pins of bronze, an armlet of bronze on the arm-bone of a young female interred in a tomb made of Roman tiles, in Eastgate ; Samian and Romano-British ware, terra-cotta lamps, a bronze dagger-blade discovered in 1895 in the Roman wall to the east of Newport Arch, fragments of Roman swords, etc.

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In 1774 a small bronze statue of Mars on a base was found in the Fosdyke, inscribed : DEO MARTI ET NUMINIBUS AUGUSTI COHORTIS ASYRI BENECIUS ET CARASIUS DE SUO DONAVERUNT.

Outside the limits of the Roman city several places of Roman sepulture have been discovered. Half a mile east of the Roman Eastgate in 1790 were found sepulchral monuments, sarcophagus, earthen and glass urns ; and a hundred yards away, a large room, with a sarcophagus inside it, and the floor covered with black ashes. Stone coffins have also been discovered in the same field.

Above the Schools of Science and Art in Monks' Road were found Roman pottery, and four stone coffins. More Samian ware was exposed in making the foundations of the new abattoirs, a little further eastwards.

In 1877 coffins in loculi or pigeon-holes were found in the middle of Newport in a straight narrow trench, the present road curving considerably to the west of the Roman road.

Canwick Church, situated about one and a half miles south-east of Lincoln, has a tessellated Roman pavement about 2 feet below the present floor level, and extending the whole length of the nave.



## Lincoln

In 1795 a large Roman villa was discovered in the parish of Scampton about five miles north-west of Lincoln, close to a Roman road. There were at least forty rooms with thirteen tessellated pavements and upwards of twenty human skeletons, probably buried in the graveyard attached to the Chapel of St. Pancras, which has given its name to the existing well.

In 1884 and 1889 the remains of another large and important Roman villa were unearthed in the Greetwell Fields, about one and a half miles due east from the Minster. There were a number of apartments with corridors and with very good tessellated pavements. As at Scampton, the walls had been plastered and painted.

The existence of these Roman villas at such distances from the city is a clear proof of the peacefulness of the times wherein they were built, when the Roman conquest was complete, at all events in Lincolnshire, and before the retirement of the Roman arms left Britain exposed to invasion once again.

The Romans were no less careful in providing for the supply of water to their cities than they were to have them drained. Between the castle and Lucy Tower Street, just north of Brayford, has been found a set of conduit pipes for the conveyance of water from a spring on the high ground near. In a field north-east of the city was found another conduit of the same date. About 14 yards north of the Assembly Rooms was a large well, called the Blind Well. It was brick with neat walling, and at the top was 18 feet in diameter, narrowing towards the bottom. Communicating with this well apparently was a line of pipes leading for nearly a mile from a spring on the north side of the Nettleham Road. The pipes were about 1 foot 10 inches

long, having no insertions but being joined together by an exterior ring, with an interceptive process of strong cement, like the bed in which the pipes are laid.

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The Roman roads leading to and from Lincoln may now be briefly indicated. First comes the Via Herminia, or Ermine Street, which starts from Pevensey, passes through London to St. Albans and Godmanchester. Thence it enters the county of Lincoln at Stamford, after traversing a corner of Rutland, passes to South Witham in Lincolnshire, to Easton where it is called the High Dyke, to Great and Little Ponton, Honington and Ancaster, a very important Roman station which has been identified with Causennae or Isinnae, between Durobrivae (Castor) and Lindum; northwards again it proceeds by Bayard's Leap, Navenby, Harmston, and Waddington to Waterloo Farm, where the road ends. It can be traced through, descending the hill to join with the Fosseway about 400 yards south of and outside the southern gateway, the Great Bargate of the city.

Within the city the two roads are represented by the High Street, passing upward to the second Roman Southgate, now replaced by the Stonebow, to the Strait. In a length of about 1000 yards south of the crossing of the Great Northern Railway a concreted causeway was found in four places 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 9 inches below the surface, and the concrete 8 inches to 5 feet thick, was on made ground from 2 to 9 feet thick. Near the Witham the swamp seems to have been crossed on a piled foundation similar to that at Stroud on the Watling Street north of the Medway.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This possibly originated the name of Wigford (Wicken or Wickerford).

Lincoln. In 1838 a piece of this road was laid bare near Butchery Street. It was nearly 3 feet below the surface of the street, and was about 10 to 14 inches thick, formed or bedded upon a layer of gravel about 6 inches thick. It was apparently made of clean stone rubble, gravel, many shells and ferruginous ashes, run together with hot lime as concrete or grouting. The mass was thoroughly compact, and great difficulty was experienced in breaking through it. Through the Strait it passed, still northward, up Steep Hill, choosing with much skill the evident dip intervening between the much steeper Christ's Hospital Terrace and Wordsworth Street on either hand, through the first Roman Southgate, Bailgate, and so out of the city through Newport Arch. Thence it emerges to run northwards in an almost straight line Ad Abum (to the Humber). It is a broad road, rising in various parts of its course several feet above the level of the surrounding country, and is in full use for the first seventeen miles north of Lincoln. About four miles north of the city, a branch road leaves it on the west and, under the name of Tillbridge Lane, runs straight to the Trent, ten miles away; the ford being at the Roman station of Segelocum, or Agelocum, *i.e.* Littleborough on Trent, as was mentioned in the preceding account of the milestone of Victorinus discovered in the centre of the first Roman city.

The villa at Scampton mentioned above lies just to the north of this road, before it crosses the road leading from Lincoln to Kirton. It is most probable that this road was designedly started, not from Lincoln, but four miles out, on the Great North Road, here called Old Street, in order to avoid the swampy ground lying immediately to the west of the city.

The Fosseway, starting from Axminster, on the

borders of Devonshire and Dorsetshire, ran by Bath, Cirencester, Leicester, and Newark. Hence passing through Brough (the Roman station of Crocolana), it proceeds directly north-east to Lincoln, crossing over the Witham at Bracebridge, where is the site of an old ford, and it joins, as aforesaid, the Ermine Street outside the city. Some of the pavement of the road before the junction, consisting of flag-stones set edgeways, remained in Stukeley's time.

This road, like the former, is much elevated in the greater part of its course above the surrounding level of the country, and is in constant use all the way from Newark to Lincoln.

From the Roman Eastgate (or rather from the site thereof) a Roman road runs north-eastwards to Horn-castle (Banovallum), with much straightness for the first eight or nine miles. A portion of this was uncovered in 1902 in the old Lindum Cricket-ground, just north of the Hospital of St. Giles (where the modern road bends south-eastwards), 10 yards or so from the road. It apparently had been somewhat hurriedly made, as it only consisted of two layers of stones, instead of the customary six layers.

From the site of the Roman Eastgate, another Roman road runs perfectly straight for over a mile towards Nettleham: this was the Fosseway, and led to the Salters Way, and so to the sea-coast.

Corresponding in its angle of emergence to the last road, a Roman road, straight for at least a mile, leaves the site of the Roman Westgate to Burton and Kirton in Lindsey. These last two roads have the first mile or so of their course straight, no doubt for military reasons, as being better adapted for observation from the city than if they had curved about before entering it. The character of these roads, like great ramparts, has been well expressed by



Lincoln Horace in his line '*liberum minivit iter*' in the *Carmen Saeculare*; and as T. E. Page has pointed out (in his edition of Horace's *Odes*, p. 461), the country-folk in this county still speak of them as ramparts, *i.e.* 'ramper way,' 'ramper dust,' etc. It is very noticeable how few villages are situated actually on these roads as a general rule. They are from a mile to two miles on one or the other side of them.

The Fosdyke, a canal joining the Witham at Lincoln with the Trent at Torksey, is almost certainly of Roman construction, as was the canalisation of the Witham itself for about the first seven miles of its course from Lincoln to Boston; and the Car Dyke, which reached for fifty-seven miles from the Nen to the Witham near Washingborough, and which served as a catchwater drain to the higher land on the west of it and so saved the Fens from floods.

The Sincil Dyke, which leaves the Upper Witham about three-quarters of a mile from Brayford, runs eastwards across the main road at Bargate, and turning northwards runs parallel to the High Street as far as the Great Northern Station, thence eastwards to Stamp End, where it originally fell into the Lower Witham. This probably was Roman in origin, as also were the Great and Little Gowts, which join the Witham and the Sincil Dyke, and which run transversely across the High Street.

With the gradual weakening of the power of the Roman Empire, and the advance of the invading hordes of Barbarians on Rome itself, all the forces possible were withdrawn from outlying dependencies, like Britain, to defend the heart of the Empire. Indeed in the year 410, the Emperor Honorius formally renounced the sovereignty of Britain a short time before Alaric captured the Imperial City. Owing, doubtless, to the departure of the Roman

legions, the incursions of the Picts and Scots from what we now call Scotland and the north of Ireland became more numerous and more daring. With one exception, appeals to the Roman generals were unheeded; they had enough on their hands to deal with, as it was, on the Continent. One legion, indeed, was sent to Britain in the time of the Emperor Valentinian III. This was withdrawn in A.D. 426, which date marks the complete and final separation of Britain from the Empire of Rome.

Lincoln must have known something of these afore-said Picts and Scots if we can believe the history of King Vortigern, who requested help from the various tribes of North-west Germany, Saxons, Jutes, and Angles (the last-named settled in Mercia, which included the county of Lincolnshire).

With these allies, commanded by Hengist and Horsa, he met the northern invaders who had penetrated as far south as Stamford, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Legendary history details how Hengist was rewarded by a grant of land in North Lincolnshire, as much as a bull's hide would go round: the hide he cut into strips, and so obtained a large area. The place was supposed to be Caistor, called Thong Caistor from the occurrence (far more likely, as Mr. Jeans suggests, Tongue Caistor, as it is on a tongue of hill, projecting into the marshes eastwards).

Here, in the castle which he had built, Hengist is supposed to have tempted Vortigern with a sight of the beautiful Rowena, whom he afterwards married, and who is reported to have poisoned Vortimer, Vortigern's son by his former wife, at Hengist's instigation. He died in 475, and was buried at Lincoln.

In the same year Hengist ravaged the country

Lincoln generally, and captured London, Lincoln, and Winchester, and in 487 Ambrosius retook those cities for the British cause.

Hitherto, history has been called legendary ; for the next hundred years or so, it becomes more a romance than anything else, as King Arthur is depicted in the pages of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In 501 he tells us King Arthur and allies from Brittany ' went to relieve the city Kaerlindcoit, that was besieged by the pagans, which being situated upon a mountain between two rivers in the province of Lindisia is called by another name, Lindocolinum. As soon as they arrived there with all their forces, they fought with the Saxons, and made a grievous slaughter of them, to the number of six thousand : part of whom were drowned in the rivers, part fell by the hands of the Britons, the rest in a great consternation quitted the siege and fled, but were closely pursued by Arthur till they came to the wood of Celidon where they made a stand.'

Arthur, needless to say, after having concluded satisfactory negotiations with the enemy, whom he kept surrounded and unable to obtain food, and then let them depart on promise of paying tribute, had to fight a fierce battle in the west, wherein his sword Caliburn (or Excalibur, as we have learnt it from Malory and Tennyson), 'an excellent sword made in the isle of Avillon,' itself accounted for four hundred and seventy Saxons.

The site of the earlier battle is said to be by the river Bassus<sup>1</sup> (the Witham?), and Baldulph and Colgrin were defeated, Cedric being compelled to leave off besieging Lincoln. Probably, as Malory is silent over the Lincoln battle of King Arthur and

<sup>1</sup> The Bass Rock has also been claimed as near the site of this battle.

his Table Round, and also because it admitted of little scope for poetic treatment, Lincoln does not appear in the great cycle of the Lincolnshire poet, *The Idylls of the King*. Merlin, it seems, according to Geoffrey, was not altogether unmindful of the future of the city. 'The fox of Kaerdabalem (Carlisle?) shall take revenge on the lion (of Gloucester) and shall destroy him entirely with her teeth. She shall be encompassed by the adder of Lincoln, who with a horrible hiss shall give notice of his presence to a multitude of dragons.' This translation was made by Geoffrey at the request of, among others, 'Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, a prelate of the greatest piety and wisdom. There was not any person either among the clergy or laity that was attended with such a train of knights and noblemen, whom his settled piety and magnificence engaged in his service.'

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From following a 'will of the wisp' in the imaginative pages of Geoffrey, it is a relief to be able to rely for our future history on the Venerable Bede. Speaking of the year A.D. 628, he says: 'Paulinus' (who had been sent from Rome in 601, who was consecrated Missionary Bishop in 625, and who had converted many in the Northumbrian domain of King Edwin) 'also preached the word to the Province of Lindsey (which comprises the other half of Lincolnshire), which is the first on the south side of the River Humber, stretching out as far as the sea: and he first converted the Governor of the City of Lincoln, whose name was Blecca, with his whole family. He likewise built, in the city, a stone church of beautiful workmanship, the roof of which, having either fallen through age, or been thrown down by enemies, the walls are still to be seen standing, and every year some miraculous cures are wrought in that



place, for the benefit of those who have faith to seek the same. In that church, Justus (Archbishop of Canterbury) having departed to Christ, Paulinus consecrated Honorius (fifth prelate of the Church of Canterbury from Augustine) Bishop in his stead. A certain abbot and priest of the Monastery of Peartaneau (Partney, near Spilsby, a cell to Bardney Abbey), a man of singular veracity, whose name was Deda, in relation to the faith of this province, told me that one of the oldest persons had informed him, that he himself had been baptized at noonday by the Bishop Paulinus, in the presence of King Edwin, with a great number of the people, in the River Trent, near the city which in the English tongue is called Tiovulfingacester, and he also was wont to describe the person of Paulinus, that he was tall of stature, his hair black, his visage meagre, his nose slender and aquiline, his aspect both venerable and majestic.'

Henry of Huntingdon, describing the conversion of Blecca, and the consecration of Archbishop Honorius, to whom the Pope sent a pall, says :

'The City of Lincoln, which was then called Lindecolin, with the neighbouring district of Lindissey, which is surrounded on all sides by rivers or marshes or the sea, belongs to the kingdom of Mercia. The city is nobly situated, and the district abounds in wealth, so that it is somewhere written :

"On a high hill the noble city stands, facing the south."

In 678 Egfrid, King of Northumbria, having wrested the province of Lindsey from Wulfhere, King of Mercia, has Edhed or Eadhead ordained the first Bishop of Lindsey, Ethelwyn being the second, Edgar the third, and Kinebert the fourth, who was holding it in the time of Bede (673-735).

Towards the end of the eighth century, we begin to read in the various annals of the time, such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and others, of the new enemy, the Danes, who were constantly landing, attacking, and settling in different parts of this island. This county was more especially exposed to their invasions, as besides landing on the coast, they sailed up the Humber, thence into the Trent as far as Gainsborough and Torksey, and thence along the Fossdyke to Lincoln. The names of the villages along the coast, *Mablethorpe*, *Trusthorpe*, *Theddlethorpe*, *Saltfleetby*; and along the Fossdyke, *Kettlethorpe*, *Saxilby*, and *Skellingthorpe*, may be taken as direct evidence of the enduring nature of these forcible settlements. Numerous words, indeed, still in use in the countryside, are almost pure Scandinavian but little altered, and Danesgate commemorates a colony of the Northmen in Lincoln itself. A traditional story is related by Langtoft (who wrote in the reign of King Edward I.) of the powers of Hanelok, a stalwart Dane, who seems to have excelled in 'putting the stone.' The chronicler says that he was reported to be the son of Gunter whom King Alfred baptized with thirty of his followers, Gunter being apparently the same as Godrun or Guthram; but he adds that he can find no account of this Hanelok in any history whatever:

'Neither Gildas no Bede no Henry of Huntynghon  
No William of Malmsbiri ne Pers of Bridlyngton';

but that

'Men sais in Lyncoln Castle ligges yet a stone  
That Hanelok kast well forbi ever ilk one.'

Robert de Brunne, whose is the translation of Langtoft, was a monk of Sixhills, and afterwards of Bourne, both Lincolnshire monasteries.

## Lincoln

Lincoln was one of the five towns which, with Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, and Stamford, were under the Danelagh (afterwards Chester and York were added). In this confederacy, which took the place of the Mercian kingdom, Lincoln seems to have represented the Lindiswaras, or dwellers in Lindsey on the higher lands, and Stamford the Gyrwas, who lived mainly in the Fens. (Still to this day, the Fen dwellers are humorously supposed to be web-footed and to have their abdomens coloured yellow.) Each of the boroughs seems to have been ruled by its own earl, with his separate 'host.' Within each, twelve lawmen administered Danish law, while a Common Justice Court existed for the whole confederacy. In 869 the Danes ravaged Mercia, and it is believed that Stow Church was burned by them on this occasion. In 873 they wintered at Torksey in Lindsey, just at the junction of the Fosdyke and the Trent, and the inhabitants made peace with them.

In 911 Danes from Northumbria broke peace (which had been concluded in the year 906) with King Edward (son of King Alfred) and his Witan, and overran the land of Mercia.

In 941 King Edward, brother of King Athelstan, won back the towns of the Danelagh. In 993 the Danes came to the mouth of the Humber and there wrought much evil, as well in Lindsey as in Northumbria. In 1013, before the month of August, came King Sweyn with his fleet to Sandwich, and went then very soon about East Anglia into the mouth of the Humber, and so upward along the Trent till he came to Gainsborough; and then soon Utred the Earl, and all the Northumbrians, submitted to him, and all the dwellers in Lindsey, and afterwards the people in the Five Boroughs (the Danelagh). He

died in the year following and has been believed to have been buried at Gainsborough.

Then, after Sweyn was dead, Canute sat with his army at Gainsborough, and it was agreed between him and the people of Lindsey that they should find him horses, and that afterwards they should all go out together, and plunder. Punishment, however, soon followed, as directly afterwards came King Edward thither to Lindsey, with his full force, before they were ready: and then they plundered, and burned, and slew all the people whom they could reach. In 1016 Canute came through Buckinghamshire and through Northamptonshire along the Fens to Stamford, and then into Lincolnshire. Mercia was twice overrun again this year by the Danish forces, and at the great battle of Ashendun or Assingdon, won by King Canute, fell amongst many others Godwin the Ealdorman of Lindsey. After this, King Edmund and King Canute were reconciled to one another, and the former obtained Wessex, and Canute Mercia and the northern district.

In 1017 Canute obtained the whole of England and delivered Mercia over to Edric.

King Edward the Confessor is related by William of Malmesbury to have cured a blind man at Lincoln, who survived him many years, a proof of the royal miracle. His eyes were touched with the water in which the king had washed his hands.

But little is chronicled about Lincoln or the county till 1066, when Tostig, brother of King Harold (the last of the Saxons), went north into Humber and there ravaged in Lindsey, and there slew many good men. This was previous to the battle of Stamford Bridge, where Tostig and his ally, Harold, King of Norway, were slain, and Harold, King of England, was victorious.



In Saxon times, presumably, not only was the area of both Roman enclosed portions of the city inhabited, but there was a considerable population along the Causeway thrown up by the Romans, which, as mentioned above, ran to the crossing of the Sincil Dyke, where, in after times, the Great Bargate defended the southern entrance to the city.

The fact that there churches of pre-Norman date still exist, *i.e.* St. Mary-le-Wigford, and St. Peter-at-Gowts, is some proof of this, and probably this settlement along the highroad was made possible by the construction, also by the Romans, of the Sincil Dyke itself, as it would drain off the water from the Upper Witham, and divert it round the city to fall into the Lower Witham near to where the present locks are at Stamp End.

A further proof of the pre-Norman existence of South Lincoln is a mention in Domesday that 'the customs of the king and the earl in South Lincoln (sud Lincolnia) yield twenty-eight pounds.'



ROMAN FOSSE





The Minster from Broadgate

## CHAPTER II

FROM NORMAN CONQUEST TO LINCOLN FAIR, 1217



OBSERVATORY TOWER

WILLIAM the Conqueror in 1067 is recorded to have gone to Nottingham (having heard that the people of the North had gathered together to oppose him) and built a castle there, and then advanced to York, where he built two castles: he then did the same at Lincoln, and every-

where in those parts. Probably most, if not all, of the existing earthworks of the castle at Lincoln were erected at this date, though, as mentioned in the previous chapter, one or other of the mounds may be either British or Saxon in origin. Probably, also, the mounds were fortified with palisading as the time was too short to permit of much building in stone, and we know that at York King William erected a fortress of wood on Bale or Beacon Hill (opposite to his former castle there), which was built in eight days.



## Lincoln

The entry referring to Lincoln Castle in Domesday is as follows. After mentioning that about 240 dwelling-houses were decayed, it says: 'Of the afore-said waste mansions, 166 had been pulled down on account of the Castle. The remaining 74 lie waste, without the limit of the Castle, not on account of the oppression of the Sheriff or his servants, but by misfortune, poverty and fire.' This passage also strengthens the case for the earthworks being not earlier than of Norman date. As one consequence of William's castle-building at Lincoln comes the erection of a cathedral, which will be more fully noticed in a later chapter.

In 1069 a powerful combination of forces took arms against William. The earls Edwin and Mercar, and three of the sons of Sweyn from Denmark, with 240 ships came into the Humber on behalf of Edgar Atheling. When they landed with a party on the Lincolnshire side of the estuary, to plunder and forage, a numerous band of the King's friends issued from Lincoln, and took them all prisoners except Edgar and two others, demolishing also Edgar's vessel, which had been deserted by its guards. After these Danes and English had captured and almost destroyed York, they appear to have returned to the Humber and recrossed it into Lincolnshire, where William found them and defeated them, causing them to cross over once more. Simeon of Durham tells us that William took 'some hostages for Lindsay—England being then lately subjugated by the Normans—and confined them in Lincoln Castle.' Among these hostages was one Turgot, a young Saxon priest of good family, who escaped by bribing his gaolers, and fled to some Norwegians who were loading a merchant vessel at Grimsby, and who concealed him carefully from the royal

revenue officers when the ship was searched for him. He was well received by King Olaf of Norway, and he eventually became Prior of Durham for twenty years, and thereafter Bishop of St. Andrews.

In 1103 Magnus Barfod, King of Norway, having undertaken an expedition against the Irish, fell into an ambush and was slain in Ulster. 'A rich citizen of Lincoln kept,' says Orderic, 'the treasure of King Magnus, and supplied him with ornaments, plate, arms, furniture, and whatever else the royal service required. This man, having learnt the King's death, hastened home, and trafficking with the King's treasure, speedily amassed vast wealth. Meanwhile the King of England (Henry I.) received the intelligence that Magnus was slain, with great satisfaction, feeling himself relieved from a great burden, and sometime afterwards required the citizen of Lincoln to give up the late King's treasure. The merchant at first denied that he had any such deposit, but the King having convicted him of the falsehood, suddenly arrested him, and extorted from him, as it is said, more than twenty thousand pounds of silver.'

This little narrative, evidencing a keen but unscrupulous business instinct in this Lincoln merchant, is interesting as it testifies to the close connection even at this date between the city and Scandinavia.

'In 1123,' says Hovenden, 'King Henry was riding in his deer park at Woodstock, on Wednesday the 10th of January, with Roger Bishop of Salisbury on one side, and Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln on the other: and they rode there talking. Then the Bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the King: "My Lord King! I am dying!" and the King alighted from his horse, and took him between his arms, and bade them bare him to his Inn, and he soon lay there

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dead: and they took his body with much pomp to Lincoln, and Robert Bishop of Chester (really of Coventry whence the See was transferred to Lichfield), called Pecceth, (or Peché) buried him before St. Mary's Altar. Later on in the same year, the King was at Winchester, where he remained during the festival of Easter: and while there he gave the Bishopric of Lincoln to a Clerk named Alexander, who was a nephew of the Bishop of Salisbury, and he did this all for love of that Bishop. But, before the Bishop of Lincoln came to his See, nearly the whole town of Lincoln was burnt, with a great number of persons, both men and women, and so much harm was done that no man could tell another how great the damage was.'

In 1140 the Empress Matilda came to England to assert her title to the crown, and oppose the pretensions of King Stephen. She took up her abode at Lincoln, strongly fortified and amply stored it with provisions. This, she thought, was a place of safety, and conveniently situated for keeping up a communication with those persons who were friendly to her cause. Stephen, hearing of this, marched quickly thither, closely besieged the city and took it, and probably the castle as well; but the Empress had found means to escape during the siege. The King having possessed himself of the city, appeased the tumults of the neighbourhood, and finding the country quiet, left a garrison and went into other parts of the kingdom.

In the year 1139 King Stephen arrested Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and his nephew, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, at Oxford, and compelled the latter to surrender into the King's hands his castles of Newark and Sleaford, by threatening him with starvation. After this harsh treatment (or in conse-

quence of it?) it is a little surprising to learn from historians of the Bishop taking King Stephen's part, as Orderic tells us he did, in the following narrative: 'In the year of our Lord 1141 Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and his half-brother William de Roumare (whom Stephen had created Earl of Lincoln), revolted against King Stephen and surprised the fortress which he had at Lincoln for the defence of the city. Cautiously choosing a time when the garrison of the tower were dispersed abroad and engaged in sports, they sent their wives before them into the Castle, under pretence of taking some amusement. While, however, the two Countesses stayed there talking and joking with the wife of the Knight whose duty it was to defend the tower, the Earl of Chester came in without his armour or even his mantle, apparently to fetch back his wife, attended by three soldiers, no one suspecting any fraud. Having thus gained an entrance, they quickly laid hold of the bars and such weapons as were at hand, and forcibly ejected the King's guard. They then let in Earl William and his men-at-arms, as it had been planned before, and in this way the two brothers got possession of the tower and the whole city.

'Bishop Alexander and the citizens sent intelligence of the occurrence to the king, who became greatly enraged at it, and was much astonished that two of his dearest friends, on whom he had lavished honours and dignities' (King Stephen had given William de Roumare the manor of Chirchecon—Kirton?—and the castles of Gainsborough and Pontefract) 'should have acted so basely. In consequence, after Christmas, he assembled an army, and marching directly to Lincoln, took by a night surprise about seventeen men-at-arms who lay in the town, the citizens giving him their help. The two Earls had

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Lincoln shut themselves up in the Castle with their wives and most intimate friends: and finding the place suddenly invested on all sides, became very anxious, not knowing what to do.'

William of Malmesbury, as becomes a client of the great and powerful Robert, Earl of Gloucester (whose daughter was the wife of Earl Ranulf), condemns Stephen for thus besieging the brothers, 'even in the Christmas holidays,' quite irrespective, presumably, of the fact that by stratagem they had got possession of the King's castle. Malmesbury also gives reasons for Earl Robert helping (as will be seen directly) to relieve the siege, 'that the King had molested his son-in-law without any fault on his part(?): was at that moment besieging his daughter: and had castellated the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Lincoln.' 'At last,' to continue the account of Orderic, 'Ranulf, who being the youngest was the most active and venturesome, crept out at night with a few horsemen, and made for the County of Chester among his own vassals. He then announced his quarrel with the King to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, his father-in-law, and others his friends and relations, and raising the Welsh, with the disinherited and many others, in arms against the King, gathered forces in every quarter to enable him to bring relief to the besieged. He also sought a special interview with Matilda, Countess of Anjou, and pledging his fealty to her, earnestly entreated her aid, which was most graciously granted.'

According to Malmesbury, when this army arrived near Lincoln they came to the Trent, which was so high from its springs, together with floods of rain, that it could not be forded. Such was the impetuosity of the Earl of Gloucester and his followers, that they swam over. It has been suggested that

this unfordable water was Brayford, and that the army swam across somewhere near where the Witham leaves the pool to run south-eastwards through the city. But, seeing that King Stephen held the city, and in all probability the city wall extended along the north side of Brayford to Lucy Tower Street, this would be about as bad and dangerous a landing-place as could possibly have been chosen, especially as all the country round for miles was swamp. It is much more likely that by the Trent is meant the Fossdyke, which is connected with the Trent, and that the crossing of this took place some two or three miles west of Lincoln.

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Thence they seem to have come to the western slopes of the city, where the battle took place on Candlemas Day, Sexagesima Sunday, February 2, 1141. (The Workhouse, Carline Road, The Lawn, and Yarborough Road cover much of the probable battlefield.)

‘Ranulf drew up his troops,’ says Henry of Huntingdon, ‘and offered the King battle. He himself led the first line composed of his own retainers: the second was headed by the nobles exiled by King Stephen. Robert, the powerful Earl (of Gloucester), commanded the third. The Welsh, ill-armed but full of spirits, were dispersed on the wings of the army.’ After speeches from the two earls, ‘the whole army, raising their hands to heaven, abjured flight with tremendous shouts, and closing the ranks marched against the enemy in excellent order. Meanwhile King Stephen, in much tribulation of mind, heard mass celebrated with great devotion: but, as he placed in the hands of Bishop Alexander the taper of wax—the usual royal offering—it broke, betokening the rupture of the Kings. The Pyx also, which contained Christ’s Body, snapt its fastening and fell on

Lincoln the altar, while the Bishop was celebrating,—a sign of the King's fall from power. Nevertheless, he set forth with great firmness, and drew up his army with much caution. He took post himself in the centre of the men-at-arms, a numerous body whom he caused to dismount and drew up in the closest order. His earls and their Knights retained their horses and formed, by his order, two lines: but this part of his force was small. For his false' (as being merely titular earls not having jurisdiction in or deriving revenue from the counties from which they took their titles) 'and factious earls had few retainers: but the King's own followers were very numerous, and one body of them was entrusted with the royal standard.' After an exhortation from Baldwin FitzGilbert, because the King's voice was too feeble to be widely heard, the battle joined: 'the exiles who were in the van fell on the royal army, in which were Earl Alan, the Earl of Mellent, with Hugh the Earl of East Anglia (Norfolk), and Earl Symon, and the Earl of Warrene, with so much impetuosity, that it was routed in the twinkling of an eye, one part being slain, another taken prisoners, and the third put to flight. The division commanded by the Earl of Albemarle and William de Ypres charged the Welsh as they advanced on the flank and completely routed them. But the followers of the Earl of Chester attacked this body of horse, and it was scattered in a moment like the rest. Thus all the King's horse fled, and with them William of Ypres in Flanders, who had ranked as an Earl and was a valiant soldier: but as an experienced general, perceiving the impossibility of supporting the King, he deferred his aid for better times. King Stephen, therefore, with his infantry, stood alone in the midst of the enemy. These surrounded the royal troops, attacking the columns

on all sides as if they were assaulting a castle. Then the battle raged terribly round this circle: helmets and swords gleamed as they clashed, and the fearful cries and shouts re-echoed from the neighbouring hills and the city walls. The cavalry, furiously charging the royal column, slew some and trampled down others: some were made prisoners. No respite, no breathing time, was allowed, except in the quarter in which the King himself had taken his stand, where the assailants recoiled from the unmatched force of his terrible arm. 'The Earl of Chester, seeing this and envious of the glory the King was gaining, threw himself upon him with the whole weight of his men-at-arms. Even then the King's courage did not fail, but his heavy battle-axe gleamed like lightning, striking down some, bearing back others.

'At length it was shattered by repeated blows, whereupon a citizen of Lincoln lent him a Danish battle-axe. Finally he drew his well-tried sword, with which he wrought wonders, until that too was broken. Perceiving which William Dekains' (or de Kaheins), 'a brave soldier, rushed on him and, seizing him by his helmet, shouted: "Here, here, I have taken the King." Others came to his aid, and the King was made prisoner. Baldwin who had exhorted the troops was also taken, having received many wounds, and by his determined resistance gained immortal honour. Richard Fitz Urse was likewise made prisoner, who also had fought manfully and gained great glory. Until the King was taken his troops continued to fight, for they were so hemmed in that retreat was impossible. All were therefore slain or surrendered. The city was given up to plunder, according to the laws of war, the King having been conducted to it in miserable plight.'

From the comparative ease of the victory, owing



Lincoln probably to a good deal of treachery among Stephen's followers, this battle was known as the 'Joust of Lincoln.' Later on Robert, Earl of Gloucester, the Countess Matilda's brother, was taken prisoner by the King's adherents, and was exchanged for the King. In 1143 King Stephen was again engaged in besieging the castle of Lincoln, and while he was preparing a work for the attack on the fortress, eighty of his workmen were suffocated in the trenches, whereupon the King broke up the siege in confusion.

Traces of these earthworks are still visible in a field called 'Battle Piece,' immediately west of the sally-port of the castle, and this field, in which forty skeletons were found in one pit, was afterwards the place where appeals or champion fights in cases of felony came off, as we learn from a complaint from the city in the Hundred Rolls (Edward I.) that Walter Bek, Constable of the Castle, had seized this piece of land, where the citizens were wont to pasture cattle, and the thieves to fight, and the friars to preach, and the people of Lincoln to have their sports, and the country people to have free passage for carts and cattle into the city.

In 1146 Stephen having arrested Earl Ranulph when he had come peaceably to attend his court at Northampton, kept him prisoner till he gave up the strong castle of Lincoln, which he had seized by stratagem, as well as all the other castles which belonged to him. Next year the King kept Christmas at Lincoln, wearing his crown within its walls in despite of the popular superstition that this was most unlucky so to do, the prophecy running somewhat thus :

'The first crowned head that enters Lincoln's walls,  
His reign proves stormy and his kingdom falls.'

Perhaps Stephen thought no worse thing could

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come upon him than those he had already passed through, and the rest of his reign was indeed comparatively peaceful. After his departure from the city, from the Christmas festivities, the Earl of Chester came thereto with an armed force to assault the castle: but the chief commander of his troops, a man of great courage and fortune, was slain at the entrance of the north gate of the city; evidently the citizens, as before, were partisans of the King, and the Earl himself, having lost many of his followers, was compelled to retreat, upon which the citizens rejoicing in their successful defence, offered signal

Lincoln thanks to the most Blessed Virgin, their patron and protectress. (The Cathedral is dedicated, as mentioned above, to the Virgin Mary.) In the latter years of Stephen's reign the castle and city of Lincoln was secured by charter to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, to enjoy until he should be restored to his lands in Normandy and castles there. He also had leave given to fortify one of the towers of Lincoln Castle, and to have the command thereof until he should deliver unto him the castle of Tickhill in Yorkshire: which being done, then the King had the city and castle of Lincoln again, excepting the Earl's own tower which his mother had fortified, and also the constableness of that tower, and of the whole county which belonged to him by hereditary right. Possibly this excepted tower was that of the keep formerly called Lucy Tower, from the Earl's mother, Lucy, daughter of Algar, the Saxon Earl of Leicester. There was indeed a small round tower at the south-west angle of the city fortifications on Brayford which in the eighteenth century was called Lucy Tower, probably by a mistake of Stukeley's, though the name still exists in that of the street leading from Newland to the water. In 1153 it was stipulated that the castle of Lincoln should be put into the hands of Jordan de Bussey as governor, who was to swear that he would yield it up to Prince Henry, or to whom he should appoint, on the death of King Stephen.

‘In the year of grace 1158,’ says Hovenden, ‘being the fourth year of King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda, the said King Henry caused himself to be crowned a second time at Lincoln, without the walls of the city, at Wikeford.’ This was a striking testimony to the importance of the city at that time. The king probably chose this part of the city, which was then a suburb, to avoid the risk of the supersti-

tion already alluded to in the history of King Stephen's reign. King Henry must have been in Lincoln again in the year 1170, as he signed in the city an ample charter for Robert de Riddings (Reading), the new Abbot of Crowland. In 1165 the city had a surreptitious visit from one of the greatest men of the time, Archbishop Thomas à Becket. After a stormy scene at Northampton, he supped in the Abbey of St. Andrew and made his bed in the church between the nave and the altar. 'In the meantime,' according to Hovenden, 'he had secretly ordered preparations to be made for his journey as it was his intention to depart by night. At twilight, therefore, when the King and the rest were supping in the Town, taking with him two Friars of the Cistercian Order, the name of one of whom was Robert de Caune and of the other Scaiman, and a single servant, who was called Robert de Broc, he went out of the town through the gate, which was left entirely without guard, and at daybreak arrived at Lincoln. He was entertained at the house of James' (or, according to another account, that of Fulk). 'Here the Archbishop changed his dress, and changing his name, ordered himself to be called by that of Dereman: and then, being recognised by few persons, taking remote ways and byepaths, he hastened towards the seashore.'

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He is supposed to have spent some time in this flight at the Gilbertine Priory of Haverholme, near Sleaford. After reaching Sandwich he sailed to Flanders, and thence proceeded to France.

Like so many chapels on bridges, that on the bridge over the Witham at Lincoln on its east side, which was erected and endowed in the following reign, was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, or the Martyr.

In 1185 a great earthquake is reported to have cleft the cathedral church of Lincoln from the top to



Lincoln the bottom, in consequence Bishop Hugh (who was afterwards canonised) began speedily to rebuild it.

King Richard's coronation was marked by a serious persecution of the Jews all over the country, especially at York. At Lincoln timely warning seems to have been given, and they betook themselves with their treasure into the precincts of the castle, so that but little mischief was done, and the tumult subsided on a severe scrutiny being set on foot by the King's servants and officers. Gerald de Camville, a rich and powerful man (who had married Nicholaa, daughter and co-heiress of Richard de Hay, Constable of the Castle in fee, and so had some kind of claim), had bought the custody of the castle and the shrievalty of the county from King Richard. He took the side of John (afterwards King) against Richard's chancellor, Longchamps.

In 1191, according to Hovenden, a serious dissension arose between the king's chancellor and John, Earl of Mortaigne, the King's brother, relative to the castle of Lincoln, which the chancellor besieged, having expelled Gerald de Camville from the custody and office of Sheriff of Lincoln: which former office the chancellor gave to William de Stuteville, and made him sheriff as well. But while the said chancellor was besieging the castle of Lincoln, the castle of Nottingham and the castle of Tickhill, which belonged to the King, were surrendered to Earl John, who 'immediately sent word to the Chancellor that unless he quickly gave up the siege, he would visit him with a rod of iron. Consequently the Chancellor being alarmed at the commands of John, Earl of Mortaigne, broke up the Siege.'

After a discussion between the chancellor and John, a compromise was arrived at, whereby Gerard de Camville was reinstated in the office of Sheriff of

Lincoln and recovered his own lands at the price of 2000 marks. On King John's accession he came again into royal favour, and held the custody of the castle till the ninth year of that reign. A curious mention of his family has been quoted, evidently of John's reign, as follows:

'Nicola wife of Gerard de Camvil gave a reckoning of 100 marks for marrying her daughter to whomsoever she would "*exceptis mimicis regis.*"' Why the King's mimici or jesters should be specially warned off seemed marvellous till an ingenious editor suggested *inimicis*, 'the *enemies* of the King being excepted.'

King John was a fairly frequent visitor to the city. In 1200 he was here for six days in November, from the 20th to the 26th, when, according to Hovenden, on the 21st, 'John King of England and William King of Scotland had an interview at Lincoln; and on the day after' (*i.e.* November 22nd) 'John fearlessly and contrary to the advice of many of his followers, entered the Cathedral Church of Lincoln' (another allusion, doubtless, to the superstition mentioned above) 'and offered on the altar of Saint John the Baptist, in the new buildings there, a chalice of gold: After this, on the same day, he and William King of the Scots, met for a conference, outside of the City of Lincoln upon a lofty hill' (this has been called Bore or Bower Hill, and is supposed to be about where the Union Workhouse is now erected) 'and there in sight of all the people William, King of the Scots, did homage to John King of England, as of his own right, and swore fealty to him, upon the Cross of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, for life and limb, and his worldly honour in the presence of many witnesses.'

'Accordingly after doing homage, William King of Scotland, demanded of John King of England his lord, the whole of Northumberland, Cumberland, and

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Lincoln Westmoreland as his right and inheritance; and after this had been discussed between them at considerable length and they could not come to an agreement, the King of England demanded of the King of Scotland a truce for the purpose of deliberating until Pentecost next ensuing. 'This being granted on the day after' (*i.e.* November 23rd) 'early in the morning, William King of the Scots set out on his return to his own kingdom, under the safe conduct of the persons before named' (they were sent by John to William on purpose) 'who had escorted him to the King of England. On the same day, the body of Hugh Bishop of Lincoln' (afterwards Saint Hugh of Burgundy or Avallon who died in London on November 17, 1200) 'was carried to Lincoln for the purpose of being buried there: on which John King of England and the above named three Archbishops' (Hubert of Canterbury, John of Dublin, and Bernard of Ragusa) 'and thirteen Bishops, together with the said Earls and Barons, went forth to meet it, and received the body: and the King himself with the earls and barons carried the body on their shoulders to the porch of the Cathedral Church, rejoicing in thus showing obedience to God and to His blessed Minister. At the door of the Church the above-named archbishops and bishops received the body, and then it was carried on the shoulders of the priests into the Choir, where it remained for the night. On the 26th November the Body of the said Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, was after the solemnity of the Mass carried into the new Church which he himself had founded in honour of the Blessed Mary, Mother of God and ever a Virgin: and he was buried by the before-named Archbishops and Bishops near the altar of St. John the Baptist. Also while John King of England was staying at Lincoln, there came to him twelve Abbots of the Cistercian

Order, and falling at his feet begged for mercy, saying that his foresters had destroyed their cattle, by which they and the power of Christ were sustained, and had driven them away from the royal pastures and forests: on which the King made answer, "Arise." Accordingly all these men arose, and the King himself, by the inspiration of the Divine favour fell on his face before their feet, asking pardon and said to them, "My protection I do give and do grant to you, that ye may feed your cattle in my pastures and forests, in the manner in which the said privilege is known to have been granted to you by my predecessors the Kings of England: in addition to which look out for some suitable place in my kingdom for you to found an Abbey of your Order, and I will build it for the good of my soul and those of my parents, and for the establishment of my kingdom, and there, God willing, will I be buried."

According to other accounts John is related to have refused the monks a hearing and to have ordered his horsemen to trample them under foot. In the night, however, he believed he saw the persecuted monks, and that he was brought before a judge, and scourged for his barbarous treatment of them. So realistic was the dream that he awoke, as he thought, with his back lacerated from hip to shoulder. The abbey which he founded in consequence of this interview was that of Beaulieu in Hampshire.

In the following year, 1201, King John was again in Lincoln, where he stayed for two days, January 13th and 14th, on his way to Grimsby, and thence across the Humber to Yorkshire. Coming from Nottingham he again stopped in the castle of Lincoln on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of October 1205.

On his road from York to Sleaford in 1211 he made another stay at Lincoln, from the 9th to the

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Lincoln 13th of January. In 1213 he was here again on January 9th, 10th, and February the 15th.

In the last year of his reign, 1215, he spent nearly a week in the city, from February 22nd (when he left Kinnard's Ferry on the Trent, opposite to Owston in the Isle of Axholme), to February 27th. Magna Charta was signed on July 15th of that year, and there still exists in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln an original and contemporary copy of that 'earliest monument of English Freedom,' possibly due to the fact that the then Bishop of Lincoln, Hugh de Wells, was King John's chancellor, and another tribute to the great importance of the city of Lincoln at that date.

King John is said to have compelled some of the most influential citizens on the occasion of the last-mentioned visit to place their sons in his custody, as a security for their parents' fidelity and continued allegiance, because several of them were showing signs of taking the side of the barons and of the dauphin, Prince Louis, who had now landed and was preparing for the struggle against the King. While Louis was in London he presented to Gilbert de Gant the sword of the county of Lincoln (the usual way in which a new earl received seisin of his dignity). This Gilbert was nephew and heir-male of a former Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln from 1141-56, who had married the Earl of Chester's niece (contemporaneously, apparently, for some time with another Earl of Lincoln, William de Roumare). The new earl, with Robert de Roppelle, took the city of Lincoln and that county, with the exception of the castle, which held out courageously for King John, who had been pillaging and collecting booty about the coast of Suffolk.

Having arrived at Stamford, he proceeded northward, and hearing that the castle of Lincoln was

besieged, he made all haste to that place, Gilbert de Gant and the other Normans who were besieging it flying before him, dreading his presence as they would lightning, as the old chronicler remarks.

King John's last visit to Lincoln was in the same year, 1215, from the 21st of September to the 2nd of October, when he examined the castle as to its state of preparation for defence. On his arrival he was met at the eastern gateway of the castle, now the only entrance, by Nicholaa de la Haye, widow of Gerard de Camville, who had been custodian of the castle since her husband's death. The interview is recorded in an inquisition of the third year of King Edward I. (1274-5), which says, 'And once it happened that after the war King John came to Lincoln, and the said lady Nichola went out of the eastern gate of the castle, carrying the keys of the castle in her hand, and met the King and offered the keys to him, as her lord, and said she was a woman of great age and was unable to bear such fatigue any longer. And he besought her saying, "My beloved Nichola, I will that you keep the castle as hitherto, until I shall order otherwise."

'And she retained it as long as King John lived, and after his decease she still kept it under King Henry, the father of the King that now is.'

The Lady Nicholaa was appointed Sheriff of the County, John Philip de Marc being her assistant, and Falco de Breaute, or De Breant, being assigned to her for help in defending the castle. He was a soldier of fortune, and is called a wicked robber by Wendover, as he pillaged the town of St. Albans in 1217. In the same year, 'the Barons who were on the side of Prince Louis, determined to march to Lincoln, where Gilbert de Gant and other Barons had carried on a long siege of the castle,' having returned thereto apparently on King John's death. 'They therefore

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Lincoln marched' (from Mountsorrel, which was being besieged by the king's troops, and whose siege had just been raised) 'through the vale of Belvoir, and then everything fell into the hands of these robbers, because the soldiers of the French kingdom, being as it were the refuse and scum of that country, left nothing at all untouched, and their poverty and wretchedness was so great that they had not enough bodily clothing to cover their nakedness. At length they arrived at Lincoln, and the Barons then made fierce assaults on the Castle, whilst the besieged returned their showers of stones and missiles with stones and deadly weapons with great courage.'

In 1215 the Close Roll gives a writ to Philip March or Marc, commanding him to give Nichola de Haya six 'balistae ad strumum' (hand or light crossbows) and two 'balistae ad turnum' (heavier crossbows à tour, wound up by a winch) for fortifying the castle at Lincoln, and in the same year it was garrisoned by Falk de Breauté, to oppose the king's enemies. 'While these events were passing at this place' (*i.e.* Lincoln) 'William Marshall, the Guardian of the King and Kingdom, by the advice of Walo (or Gualo) the Legate (of the Pope), Peter Bishop of Winchester and others by whose councils the business of the Kingdom was arranged, convoked all the castellans belonging to the King, and the knights who were in charge of castles in different parts of the Kingdom, ordering them, on the command of the King to assemble at Newark on the second day in Whitsun week to proceed together with them to raise the siege of Lincoln Castle.

'They having an ardent desire to engage with the excommunicated French, and also to fight for their country, joyfully came at the time and place pre-arranged on, and with them came also the Legate

himself and many other prelates of the Kingdom, with horses and soldiers to assail with prayers as well as arms these disobeyers of their King, and rebels against their lord the Pope: for it appeared to them that they had a just cause of war, especially as he was innocent, and a stranger to sin, whom his enemies were endeavouring in their pride to disinherit.'

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The list of the army includes four hundred knights, two hundred and fifty crossbowmen, and a great assemblage of horsemen and foot soldiers. 'They made a stay of three days at Newark to refresh the horses and men, and in the meantime employed themselves in confession, and strengthened their bodies by partaking of the Body and Blood of our Lord, asking His protection against the attacks of their enemies. At length on the sixth day of Whitsun week, after the performance of the Holy Sacrament, the Legate rose and set forth to all of them how unjust was the cause of Louis and the Barons who had joined him, for which they had been excommunicated, and in order to animate the army to battle he put on his white robes, and in company with the whole clergy there, excommunicated Louis by name with all his accomplices and abettors, and especially all those who were carrying on the siege of Lincoln against the King of England, together with the whole provinces, inclusive and included. And to those who had undertaken to assist in this war personally he, by the power granted to him from the omnipotent God and the Apostolic See, granted full pardon for their sins, of which they had made true confession, and as a reward to the just he promised the reward of Eternal Salvation. Then after all had received absolution and the blessing of God, they flew to arms, mounted their horses at once, and struck their camp rejoicing. On their arrival at Stowe, eight miles



Lincoln from Lincoln, they there passed the night without fear. In the morning seven dense and well-appointed battalions were formed, and they marched against the enemy, only fearing that the latter would take to flight before they reached the City: the crossbowmen all the time kept in advance of the army almost a mile: the baggage waggons and sumpter horses followed altogether in the rear with the provisions and necessaries, whilst the standards and bucklers glittered in all directions, and struck terror into those who beheld them. The Barons who were in the City and the French felt such great confidence of success in their cause, that when their messengers told them of the approach of their enemies they only laughed at them and continued to hurl missiles from their mangonells to destroy the walls of the Castle. But Robert Fitz-Walter, and Sayer Earl of Winchester, when they heard that the enemy were approaching the City, went out to watch their approach and to count their numbers: and when they had made a careful survey of their approaching enemy, they returned to their companions, telling them: "The enemy are coming against us in good order, but we are much more numerous than they are: therefore our advice is that we sally forth to the ascent of the hill to meet them, for if we do we shall catch them like larks." In reply to them the Count of Perche and the Mareschal said: "You have reckoned them according to your own opinion: we also will now go out and count them in the French fashion." They then went out to reconnoitre the coming army of the King, but in their estimation of them they were deceived: for when they saw the waggons and baggage in the rear of the army, with the guards who followed the squadrons which were already disposed in order of battle, they thought that this was an army of itself.

because they beheld there a great multitude of men with standards flying: for each of the nobles had two standards, one as we have already said, following the troops at a distance in the rear, with the baggage, and another preceding the persons of each of them, that they might be known when engaged in battle. And the Count of Perche, with the Mareschal, being thus deceived, returned in a state of uncertainty to their companions. On their return into the city, they proposed this plan to their companions, whose advice they did not despise, namely to divide the nobles that the gates might be guarded and the enemy prevented from entering by some until the others had taken the Castle, the capture of which would soon be effected. This plan was approved of by many, but several disagreed with it. They then secured the gates, appointed guards to them, and prepared for a defence. The King's army in the meantime approached the city on the side nearest the Castle, and when it was discovered by the Castellans they sent a messenger by a postern door of the earth to the commanders of the army to inform them of what was being done inside. This messenger told them that if they wished they could enter the Castle by the postern, which had just been opened on account of this arrival. The commanders of the army, however, would not enter the castle that way but sent Falcasius' (Falk de Breauté) 'with all the division under his command, and all the crossbowmen to force open at least one gate of the city for the army. The whole body then marched to the northern gate' (Newport Arch) 'and endeavoured to force it open, the Barons, notwithstanding this, continuing to cast heavy stones from their "petrariae" against the Castle. But, during this time, Falcasius entered the Castle' (by the aforesaid postern, in the western sally

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port most probably) 'with the company of troops under his command, and with the crossbowmen, and stationed them on the roofs of the buildings and on the ramparts, whence they discharged their deadly weapons against the chargers of the Barons, levelling horses and their riders together to the earth, so that in the twinkling of an eye they made up (?) a large force of foot-soldiers, knights and nobles. Falcasius then, seeing a great many of the more noble of the enemy struck to the earth, boldly thrust forth with his followers from the Castle' (by the eastern gate) 'into the midst of the enemy: he was, however, made prisoner, by the numbers who rushed on him, and carried away till he was rescued by the bravery of his crossbowmen and knights. The great body of the King's army, having in the meantime forced the gates, entered the city and boldly rushed on the enemy. Then sparks of fire were seen to dart, and sounds as of dreadful thunder were heard to break forth from the blows of swords against helmetted heads: but at length, by means of the crossbowmen, by whose skill the horses of the Barons were mown down and killed like pigs, the party of the Barons was greatly weakened, for when the horses fell to the ground slain their riders were taken prisoners, as there was no one to rescue them. At length, when the Barons were thus weakened, and great numbers of their soldiers had been made prisoners and safely secured, the king's knights rushed in a close body on the Count of Perche, entirely surrounding him: and as he could not withstand their force as they rushed against him, they called on him to surrender, that he might escape with life. He however swore that he would not surrender to the English, who were traitors to their lawful King. On hearing this a Knight rushed on him, and striking him on the eye pierced his brain,

on which he fell to the ground without uttering another word. Then the French battalions, seeing the fall of their commander, took to flight, both horse and foot-soldier, with great loss: for the flail of the southern Gate' (Great Bargate) 'through which they took their flight had been replaced in a transverse way across the gate, which greatly impeded their flight: for when anyone came up and wished to go out at that gate, he was obliged to dismount from his horse and open it, and after he had passed, the gate was again closed and the flail fell across it as before, and thus this gate was a great trouble to the fugitives. The King's troops pursued the flying Barons and French, but although several were made prisoners in their flight, yet the King's men only feigned to pursue them, and if it had not been for the effect of relationship and blood, not a single one of all of them would have escaped.' Of the prisoners, the most distinguished were Sayer, Earl of Winchester, Henry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Gilbert de Gant, whom Louis had made Earl of Lincoln; altogether three hundred knights were taken, and many soldiers, both horse and foot. 'The Count of Perche was buried in the Orchard of the Hospital outside the City.' According to one account he was killed close by the Minster—and the place of his burial as an excommunicated person was the Hospital of St. Giles on the Wragby Road. Other accounts make the hospital to be that of St. Katherine's, just outside the Great Bargate on the extreme south of the city.

'Reginald, surnamed Crocus, a brave knight of Falcasius's retinue, who was slain there (in Lincoln), was honourably buried at the monastery of Croxton. There was also slain in this battle a soldier of the Baron's party, not known to anyone, who was buried outside the city, at the meeting of four roads, as one

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Lincoln excommunicated. After the battle was thus ended, the King's soldiers found in the City the waggons of the Barons and the French, with the sumpter horses loaded with baggage, silver utensils, and various kinds of furniture and utensils, all of which fell into their possession without opposition. Having then plundered the city to the last farthing, they next pillaged the churches throughout the city, and broke open the chests and storerooms, seizing on the gold and silver in them, clothes of all colours, womens' ornaments, gold rings, goblets and jewels. Nor did the Cathedral Church escape this destruction, but underwent the same punishment as the rest, for the Legate had given orders to the knights to treat all the clergy as excommunicated men, insomuch as they had been enemies to the Church of Rome and to the King of England from the commencement of the war. Geoffrey de Depinges (Deping), Precentor of the Church, lost eleven thousand marks of silver.' This apparently had been collected for the fabric of the Minster. 'When they had thus seized on every kind of property, so that nothing remained in any corner of the houses, they each returned to their lords as rich men, and, peace with King Henry having been declared by all throughout the city, they ate and drank amidst mirth and festivity. This battle, which in derision of Louis and the Barons' (and also perhaps on account of the great amount of booty gained) 'they called' ('Lincoln Fair' or) '"The Fair," took place on the 19th of May: it commenced between the first and third hour, and was finished by these good managers before the ninth. After thus finishing this business, William Marshall ordered all the Castellans to return to their Castles with their prisoners, and there to keep them in close custody till they should learn the King's pleasure concerning them. The said William Mar-

shall returned the same day before he took any food, to the King' (who had apparently stopped at Stow during the absence of his forces in Lincoln) 'and told him in presence of the Legate, what had happened, and they who had been praying to God with weeping, soon changed their tears to smiles.'—(Wendover.)

Most of the French were slain on their flight southwards to London, where Louis was, who received the survivors with sneers and taunts at their having escaped, instead of staying to fight and redeem the fortunes of the day. For many years the upper part of the city round Bailgate and Eastgate showed signs of the destruction wrought at and after this battle.

Another piece of evidence of the same kind may be found in the large sums of money, amounting to more than £700, which was ordered to be paid to Nicholaa de la Haye and William, Earl of Salisbury, between the years 1217 (second year of King Henry III.) and 1224 (ninth year of the same king) for reparation of the castle, although probably some of this was for the building of a hall and living-room and not merely for repairing the walls and other fortifications.

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CASTLE KEEP



THE JEW'S HOUSE

## CHAPTER III

HISTORY CONTINUED: FROM 1217 TO THE CIVIL WAR  
AND COMMONWEALTH



EARLY in 1230 King Henry III. was at Lincoln on his return from York, where he had spent Christmas with the King of Scotland. He probably stayed at Waddington, the guest of his friendly liegeman, Ranulph, Earl of Chester, who possessed a manor there, as he set his signature to a protective charter obtained from him by the lepers of the hospital (the Malandry), just south of Lincoln, dated at Waddington, January 10, 1230. On October 3, 1255, he and his queen were at Lincoln, to investigate the supposed murder and crucifixion of a Christian

child—Little St. Hugh—the traditional date for which is August 27. Matthew Paris, a con-



Lincoln temporary author who died in 1259, gives an account of the matter as follows: 'Of the cruel treatment of the Jews for having crucified a boy. In this same year (1255), about the time of the festival of the apostles Peter and Paul, the Jews of Lincoln stole a boy of eight years of age, whose name was Hugh, and having shut him up in a room quite out of the way, where they fed him on milk and other childish nourishment, they sent to almost all the cities of England where the Jews lived, and summoned some of their sect from each city to be present at a sacrifice, to take place at Lincoln; for they had, as they stated, a boy hidden for the purpose of being crucified. In accordance with the summons, a great many of them came to Lincoln, and, on assembling, they at once appointed a Jew of Lincoln as judge, to take the place of Pilate, by whose sentence, and with the concurrence of all, the boy was subjected to divers tortures. They beat him till blood flowed, and he was quite livid; they crowned him with thorns, derided him, and spat upon him. Moreover, he was pierced by each of them with a wood knife, was made to drink gall, was overwhelmed with reproaches and blasphemies, and was repeatedly called Jesus the false prophet by his tormentors, who surrounded him grinding and gnashing their teeth. After tormenting him in divers ways, they crucified him, and pierced him to the heart with a lance. After the boy had expired, they took his body down from the cross and disembowelled it; for what reason we do not know, but it was asserted to be for the purpose of practising magical operations. The boy's mother had been for some days diligently seeking after her absent son, and having been told by her neighbours that they had last seen him playing with some Jewish boys of his own age, and entering the house of one of that sect,

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she suddenly made her way into that house and saw the body of the child in a well into which it had been thrown. The bailiffs of the city having then been cautiously assembled, the body was found and withdrawn from the well, and then an extraordinary sight was presented to the people, whilst the mother of the child by her cries and lamentations excited the grief and compassion of all the citizens, who had flocked to that place. There was present at this scene one John of Lexington (Henry of Lexington was Bishop of Lincoln at this time, very probably a brother of John), a man of learning, prudent and discreet, and he thus addressed the people: "We have already learned," said he, "that the Jews have not hesitated to attempt such proceedings as a reproach and a taunt to our Lord Jesus Christ, who was crucified." Then addressing a Jew who had been seized upon and the one whose house the boy had gone into while at play, and who was therefore an object of greater suspicion than the others, he said to him: "Wretched man, do you not know that a speedy death awaits you? Not all the gold of England will avail to ransom you and save you from your fate. However, I will tell you, undeserving as you are, how you may preserve your life and prevent your limbs from being mutilated. Both of these I will guarantee to you if you will without fear or hesitation disclose to me, without any falsehood, all that has happened on this occasion." The Jew, whose name was Copin, thinking he had found a means of escape, then said: "My Lord John, if by your deeds you will repay me for my statements, I will reveal wonderful things to you." Then, being urged on and encouraged by the eloquence of John to do so, he continued: "What the Christians say is true, for almost every year the Jews crucify a boy as an insult to the name of Jesus. But one is not found

every year, for they only carry on their proceedings privately, and in out-of-the way places. This boy Hugh, however, our Jews crucified without mercy, and after he was dead, and when they wished to hide his corpse, considering the body of a child useless to draw an augury from (for which purpose they had disembowelled it) they could not hide it under the ground as they wished to do; for in the morning, when they thought it was hidden from sight, the earth vomited it forth and the corpse appeared unburied above ground, which circumstance struck the Jews with horror. Finally it was thrown into a well; but even then it could not be kept out of sight, for the mother of the child searching into all these misdeeds, discovered the body of the child and informed the bailiffs." After hearing these disclosures John detained the Jew in close confinement. When these circumstances came to the knowledge of the canons of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, they asked for the body of the child, which was given them; and after it had been shown as a sight to an immense number of people, it was honourably buried in the Church of Lincoln, as if it had been the corpse of a precious martyr. It should be known that the Jews had kept the boy for ten days, feeding him on milk all the time, so that during life he endured many kinds of torments. When the King, on his return from the North of England, was informed of this occurrence, he reproached John for having promised life and limb to such a wicked being; which he had no right to do, for a blasphemer and murderer like him deserved to die many times over. When the guilty man saw that unavoidable punishment was impending over him he said: "My death is imminent, nor can John aid nor save me from perishing; now I will tell all of you the truth; almost all the Jews

of England agreed to the murder of this boy, of which they are accused, and from almost every city of England in which Jews dwelt some of that sect were selected and summoned to be present at the sacrifice of him, as at a paschal offering." After he had given utterance to these words and other ravings, he was tied to a horse's tail and dragged to the gallows, where he was delivered over body and soul to the evil spirits of the air. The rest of the Jews who had participated in this crime, to the number of ninety-two, were carried to London in carts and consigned to close imprisonment, and if they were perchance pitied by any Christians they did not excite any tears of compassion amongst the Caursins, their rivals (in the practice of usury). Afterwards, on an inquisition made by the King's Judiciaries, it was discovered and decided that the Jews of England had by common consent crucified and put to death an innocent boy, after having flagellated him for several days; but for this offence, on the mother of the aforesaid boy making an appeal to the King against them for the said murder, God the Lord of vengeance visited them with retribution according to their deserts. For on St. Clement's Day eighteen of the richer and higher order of the Jews of the city of Lincoln were dragged to new gibbets, erected especially for the purpose, and were hung up an offering to the winds. More than eighty others also were kept in close confinement in the Tower of London awaiting a similar fate.' These, about seventy-one in number, as Matthew Paris explains later on, who had been condemned to death by a jury of twenty-five knights, were released from prison by the Grey Friars; and on the 15th of May 1256 thirty-five of the Jews accused of the crucifixion of St. Hugh, the Lincoln boy, and who had been detained prisoners in the

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Lincoln Tower of London, were dismissed from that prison and set at liberty. These were the Jews who had been found guilty on their trial by jury, from the statement made by the Jew who was hung at Lincoln, in the first place.

Several stories are told of very similar treatment of Christian boys by Jews in various cities of England and the Continent, such as those of William of Norwich in 1144, of Richard of Paris in 1179, and of Rudolph of Berne in 1287. There are also several ballads dealing with the same theme; that of 'The Jew's Daughter' ('The rain rins doune through Mirryland tounne,' supposed to be Milan town, though quite probably a corruption of Merry Lincoln), in Percy's *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*; others given by Jamieson in 1806, Motherwell in 1827, and Hume in 1849; in the second of these only Lincoln is expressly mentioned. A still more interesting ballad exists in Anglo-Norman (*Bibliothèque Royale*, 7268 3. 3., A. Colb. 3745, f. 135 r<sup>o</sup>) which tells us

' En Nichole, la riche citié,  
Droit en Dernestal, l'enfant fut néé,'

giving the Norman name of the city and Dernestal, corrupted to St. Dunstan's Lock, at the junction between the Strait and the top of High Street, for St. Hugh's birthplace. Poitevin is the name of the Jew who stole away the child in the evening, Jopin being another one, and Agim or Agon the actual murderer.

Jopin was hung, 'A coste de Canevic sur halt mont,' being on Canwick Hill, due south of the city.

The poet Chaucer who married John of Gaunt's sister-in-law (Philippa Rouet), and therefore may be presumed to be specially interested in Lincoln,

writing between the years 1387 and 1400 refers to the legend as follows :

‘ O yonge Hew of Lincoln, slain also  
With cursed Jewes, as it is notable,  
For it n’is but a littel while ago.’

*Canterbury Tales.*

(At the close of ‘The Prioress’s Tale.’)

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Marlowe has also a reference to the supposed custom in the fifth scene of the third act of the *Jew of Malta*, where Friar Jacomo asks of Friar Barnardine, referring to a Jew, ‘What! has he crucified a child?’

The existing traces of this supposed murder in Lincoln are, first of all, the remains of a small altar-tomb on the north side of the south choir aisle of the Minster, which has had an elaborate canopied tabernacle of Decorated date over it, with well-carved naturalistic foliage. Traces of colour still exist on it. When the floors of the Minster were taken up at the end of the eighteenth century, the skeleton of a small child was found beneath the tombstone and was replaced. This is known as the Shrine of Little St. Hugh, though occasionally it has been confused with that of the great St. Hugh, the bishop, whose shrine was immediately east of the High Altar.

In the front room of the ground floor of the house just north of the entry to the ‘Jews’ Court,’ on the Steep Hill, is a well traditionally considered to be the well in which the boy’s corpse was put; another tradition places the well in the middle of Newport, just outside Newport Arch, which had the name of Grantham’s Well. The front room on the first floor of the house in ‘Jews’ Court’ is traditionally said to have been the ‘Synagogue.’

The portion of Lincoln inhabited by the Jews seems to have been from Dernestall Lock (the south end of

Lincoln the Strait) up the Steep Hill as far as the city South Bailgate, which stood just below the south Roman Gate, and whose site is now marked by a square pillar on each side of the road, having the city coat-of-arms carved thereon.

It is quite probable that above and below the Jews were shut in at nightfall, a sort of Ghetto, hence the name of the lower outlet. Besides the Jews' Court, which though of great age contains no existing architectural features, there are two houses of very similar date and character which must rank among the very earliest inhabited houses in England. The lower one of the two, commonly called 'The Jews' House,' is situated on the Steep Hill on the western side of the street opposite an open space where bull-baiting used to be carried on. The lane leading out of it, now rechristened Danes Terrace, was Bull-ring Lane formerly. The house is of two stories, and dates from Transition-Norman times, *i.e.* the twelfth century. The entrance doorway has a beautifully moulded arch of cable-interlacing pattern, and traces of pillars with foliated capitals in the angles of the doorway. From corbels on each side, forming an additional moulding to the head of the doorway, rises the projecting buttress shaft of a fireplace and chimney which is now cut short at the level of the eaves.

On either side of the chimney is a round-headed two-light window with double angle shafts. In the north wall of the ground-floor room of the shop north of the entrance door is a large segmental arch, partially blocked up, and opposite the door of that shop is a tall, round-headed arch, some 7 feet 5 inches high by 3 feet broad. The original house was only one room thick from back to front. There is a cellar, but only of modern date; apparently it was put in (possibly in place of an existing one) when the

shop fronts were made. The original windows of the ground floor were almost certainly only loops or slits in the wall, such as exist still in the ground floor of the hall of St. Mary's Guild, opposite John of Gaunt's Palace in the lower city.

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In the year 1290 this house belonged to a Jewess, Belaset or Belasset of Wallingford, who was condemned for clipping the king's coin (her name also occurs in a grant from Richard III. to the city of quit-rents paid to the Crown from houses in Lincoln, many of which had belonged to Jews). In the Public Record Office (Queen's Remembrancer's Miscellanea, Jews, 557-718) is a list of houses of the Jews belonging to the Jews of Lincoln, and Belaset is recorded to have had a house of the clear annual value of 19s. 6d., as well as £41, 13s. 4d. in money.

In 1205 King John sent an order to the Sheriff of Lincoln declaring against the use of clipped money, and giving the penalties for such use. He specially mentions Jew and Jewess in this connection.

The second Jew's house, called 'Aaron the Jew's,' is higher up the hill at the corner of Christ's Hospital Terrace. It probably was of larger extent than the other. The chief parts of it of interest are the round arched doorway with the corbelled chimney-shaft over it. Also on the first floor is a beautiful round-headed window of two circular-headed lights, with angle shafts of Transitional-Norman date, which was discovered in 1878, and has been well and carefully restored. The house has a cellar extending under the whole western side, barrel-vaulted, and reached by a very narrow winding staircase of stone. The square-headed doorway at the bottom shows traces of rebates in each side. The walls are very thick, 3 to 4 feet, but the whole of the internal arrangements have been changed many times. When the



Lincoln strength of these two houses is considered, especially if, as suggested, the only openings in the ground floor were narrow slits, the passage in which William of Newburgh, dealing with the anti-Jewish riots at King Richard I.'s coronation, relates the difficulty the mob had in attacking the Jews' houses in London becomes easily explicable. 'These houses were surrounded by the roaring people, and were stoutly besieged from nine o'clock till sunset, and as they could not be broken into because of their strong build, and because the madmen had not tools, fire was flung on the roof,' etc. Also from the same historian's account of the rioting at York eight years later, we learn that the house of Jocer, one of the most prominent and richest of the Jews of York, was quite a rival to a noble citadel in the seat and stoutness of its construction.

In 1194 the Jewry was organised, and several places (of which Lincoln was most probably one) were provided for the Jews to make their contracts, etc. In a list of the contributions of the Jews of England to King Richard I. in the same year, Lincoln with Lincolnshire comes easily second with £287 to London's £486.

In 1240 there were three 'Bishops of the Jews' at Lincoln, a title probably derived from Germany, and applied here to the three judges for ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It is interesting to find that the Jews of Lincoln were much affected by the death of Bishop (afterwards Saint) Hugh of Avalon in 1200. In the prose life of the Bishop (*Vita Hugonis*, ed. Dimock, 373) is the following passage: 'The Jews, too, weeping and wailing, and declaiming that he had been a mighty servant of the Lord, paid him honour by running alongside (the hearse) and weeping, so that they compelled us to notice that with this man the words of God were fulfilled, "the Lord gave him the blessing of all the nations."'

But the greatest of all the Lincoln Jews was Aaron, whose house has been described above. He seems to have flourished in full force about the years 1166-1186, and was possibly the most important financial agent in the kingdom. His loans were required by a great number of persons in all ranks; among the borrowers appear the names of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earls of Leicester and Chester, the Abbot of Westminster, the Prior of the Hospitallers, the Bishops of Lincoln and Bangor, and others. The first act of Geoffrey, Henry II.'s son, on appointment to the See of Lincoln, was to redeem the ornaments of his church which his predecessor (Bishop Chesney) had pledged with Aaron the Jew. Sometime before 1183, 'Aaron, who held us in his debt' (says the author of *Gesta St. Albani*, ed. Riley, p. 193), 'coming to the house of St. Alban in great pride and boasting, with threats kept on boasting that it was he who had made the window for our St. Albans, and that he had prepared for the saint a home when without one.' This was a favourite passage with the late Professor Freeman, proving the arrogance of the Jews. On November 16, 1189, King Richard condoned for nine abbeys of the Cistercian order (Kirkstead, Louth Park, and Revesby being Lincolnshire ones) for 1000 marks, all the debt which they owed him of the debt of Aaron the Jew of Lincoln, which was over 6400 marks. Aaron's treasure was lost in the Channel after his death, in 1187, with a great part of the king's retinue. Also besides this treasure, debts to the amount of nearly £15,000 fell into the king's hands, and a special part of the treasury set aside for this was called 'Scaccarium Aaronis.'

In the forty-ninth year of King Henry III. (1265) were issued the first writs of general summons to Parliament, and on this occasion Lincoln and York were

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Lincoln the only two cities actually named as required to return two burgesses.

In this same year a body of insurgents, headed apparently by Robert, Earl Ferrers, Baldwin Wake, John Dayville, and other barons, sheltering themselves in the isle of Axholme, burst suddenly out from there, and according to Holinshed, 'tooke and sacked the citie of Lincolne, spoiled the Jewes, and slue manie of them, entred their synagog, and burnt the booke of their law. At length Prince Edward, or (as other saie) his brother Earle Edmund was sent against them, who compelled them by force to come to the King's peace.'

On the 6th of October 1280, the retrochoir or presbytery of the Minster being sufficiently built to allow of it, occurred the translation of the body of St. Hugh from the chapel of St. John the Baptist (probably in the centre of the chevette, originally closing in the east end of the church) to his shrine, in that magnificent and sumptuous work of religious art and devotion called the Angel Choir. At this ceremony were present King Edward I., his beloved Queen Eleanor (very probably in honour of this, their effigies were placed on the south side of the Angel Choir) and their children, the king's brother Edmund, Earl of Lancaster and his wife, Blanche, the Dowager-Queen of Navarre, ten prelates, including the Archbishop of Canterbury (John Peckham), the Archbishop of Edessa, and two hundred and thirty knights and other nobles. The whole of the expenses of the translation, which must have been enormous, were defrayed by Thomas Bek (brother of the better-known Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem), who had been Lord-Treasurer, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and Keeper of the Great Seal during the absence of King Edward I. from England in 1279.

The same day he was consecrated in the cathedral to the bishopric of St. David's.

King Edward's next visit to the city was on a very much more mournful occasion, on the 2nd of December 1290, when the casket or urn, containing the viscera of his much-beloved Queen Eleanor, was interred beneath the great east window of that same Angel Choir. She had died at Harby, in Nottinghamshire (close to Doddington), was embalmed at Lincoln, and the first of the beautiful Eleanor Crosses was erected just outside the city of Lincoln, near to St. Catherine's Priory. On the site was placed an altar tomb, with a recumbent effigy of the queen in copper-gilt, of much the same character as still exists in Westminster Abbey. This has been replaced anew (though on a more southern site) by the late Mr. Joseph Ruston, sufficient authority existing in the drawings taken of the original monument, prior to its destruction, by Dugdale (encouraged by Sir Christopher Hatton) and Bishop Sanderson, which belong to the Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham.

In 1301 King Edward I. held a very important Parliament in Lincoln, staying from the 25th of January at the Episcopal Manor-house at Nettleham to the 12th of February, when he took up his quarters within the city until the 4th March. Peter Langtoft says :

'The date a thousand was and three hundred even  
At Lincoln the Parliament was in Lyndesay and Kesteven,  
At the Pask afterward, his Parliament set he,  
The Gode King Edward, at Lyncoln his cite.  
At Sant Katerins hous the Erle Marschalle lay  
In the brodegate lay the Brus, Erle was he that day.  
The King lay at Netilham, it is the Bisshopes town,  
And other Lordes there cam in the cuntre up and down.'

The 'Erle Marschalle' was Roger le Bigot, Earl of

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Lincoln Norfolk, and Lord Marshal of England ; and by the ' Brodegate ' probably is meant Grey Friars, the ' Brus ' being Robert, Earl of Carrick, father of the Scottish king. The especial matter which the king brought before this Parliament was to consider the pretensions of Pope Boniface the Eighth to the kingdom of Scotland, and special writs were issued to several deans, abbots, and priors, enjoining them diligently to search in all the chronicles, archives, and recent muniments of their houses for information touching the kingdom of Scotland. Besides the two archbishops, eighteen bishops, eighty abbots, the Masters of Sempringham, the Temple, and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, there were summoned to this assembly eighty-nine knights and barons, forty-six representatives from those counties where there were forests, and twenty-six where there were none ; the two justices of the forests north and south of the Trent ; sixteen masters learned in the law ; twenty-two of the Council ; the Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, with a few from both universities who were skilled in the written law ; altogether about three hundred individuals summoned to represent the various ranks and classes of English life. The place of assembly was probably the chapter-house of the cathedral.

After the Papal Bull had been read, much angry discussion ensued as to the kind of answer the king should return ; or whether, in fact, he should so far compromise his dignity as to condescend to offer any. The various bearings of the question were debated in a series of comprehensive propositions, more especially whether the king should appoint messengers to the Pope, to assert and defend the English title to the kingdom of Scotland. Even to entertain the subject would, it was argued, bring into doubt his just

authority over the realm; on the other hand, the future intervention of the Papal See could hardly be expected in the event of quarrels arising betwixt England and Scotland, if Edward should now decline entering upon the cause of contention. Again the Pope was judge in his own cause, and therefore danger might arise from sending a secular envoy, who might be unwittingly entrapped by the subtle questions of his Holiness, and exceed his injunction. After these, amongst various other points, had been maturely considered by this large body of representatives, the discussion ended; an epistle being drawn up, dated February 22, 1301, to the Pope, telling him that the King of England had immemorially enjoyed the right of sovereignty over Scotland as its liege lord, and that at no time whatsoever, or by any kind of title, had its temporalities belonged to the See of Rome. That the unanimous judgment of Parliament would never permit these rights to be called in question hereafter, or that ambassadors should be sent to Rome. And lastly, Parliament requested the Pope to allow the full exercise of its ancient privileges, most strenuously asserting its resolution to defend them. Also, important discussions were held about the vexed questions of forest perambulations and other matters. The bills for the supply of this large assemblage are extant, and are of much interest. One Stephen Stanham, one of the burgesses of the city, had a demand against the royal wardrobe of £96, 14s. 5d. for sugar, figs, etc.; fish cost £54, 10s., exclusive of £6, 16s. for herrings and stockfish for Prince Edward, during the month of February. Between Sunday, February 19, and March 1, 3121 gallons of ale were disposed of, and 160 dozens of good parchment were ordered, no doubt for recording the business done during the sitting of Parliament. Roger, the doorkeeper, paid

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Lincoln 10s. for his horse; William, clerk of the chapel-royal, 34s. for his; and Master Peter, the surgeon, for probably a more showy animal, went as high as £3, 6s. 8d.

On the 20th December 1304, King Edward I. made another stay at Lincoln *en route* from Scotland to Westminster, to assemble another Parliament of barons and ecclesiastics (no burgesses are mentioned in connection with this one) to finally settle certain regulations of and about the royal forests, which had remained undecided since the former Parliament at Lincoln.

In 1310, on January 7, occurred the general seizure of the Knights Templars, several of whom were confined in the prison of Claxlidge-gate (Clasketgate) and in the castle, and they were examined and tried in the chapter-house of the Minster. All the Templars in the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Cambridge, Hampshire, Northamptonshire, Rutland, and Lincoln were ordered to be sent to Lincoln. They were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and by the Parliament of 1324 their possessions were given to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

King Edward II. summoned a Parliament at Lincoln in the ninth year of his reign (1316), which sat for twenty-five days, from the 27th of January to the 20th of February. The king at one time was lodged at the White Friars, the Carmelite Friary, in the great hall of which the members sat on Sunday, February 14; at another time he stayed at the deanery, Parliament sitting in the hall; and on the 13th February the prelates and procures sat in the chapter-house. On another Sunday in this Parliament the king's favourite, Despencer, publicly struck Sir John de Ros, knight, a blow with his fist, 'Usque ad effusionem sanguinis,' for which he was indicted;

the damages were laid at £1000, and he was committed to the custody of the Marshal, but was liberated on bail, and afterwards pardoned.

King Edward II. held a second Parliament at Lincoln in the same year (1316) though in the tenth year of his reign, as it was summoned to meet in July.

King Edward III. in the early part of his reign was several times at Lincoln. On September 15, 1327, he convoked a Parliament in the city; one result of this being a confirmation and enlargement of the privileges of the citizens, which was dated on October 7, 1327, at Nottingham. He was again at Lincoln in 1328, where, on the 28th of March, he attested several public and instrumental documents, before leaving for Northampton where Parliament was to assemble. On his way he called at Sempringham Abbey, wherein was resident, as a sister among the nuns, the disinherited and exiled Princess Winciliana, daughter of Llewellyn, the last Cambro-British Prince of Wales.

Also, on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and the 29th of June 1330, the young king was a visitor to this city, being most probably a guest of Bishop Henry de Burghersh, who, though a very disloyal subject of King Edward II., was in great favour with his royal guest, the reigning son. Among other favours shown to the bishop was the grant of the privilege of claiming for his palace the right of giving sanctuary to all persons who should there seek it. His last visit to the city seems to have been in the summer of 1331.

Richard II. and his queen are recorded as having visited the city in 1387, and it was most probably on this occasion that the king gave to the mayor the right of having a sword borne before him, and accompanied the permission with the gift of his own royal sword (which still belongs to the mayor and corpora-

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Lincoln tion). Also, the king and queen were admitted into the fraternity of the Canons of the Minster (joining the various orders of religious life was become a favourite action about this date, a rather more *previous* proceeding than that noted by Milton of those who

‘ Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,  
Or in Franciscan thought to pass disguised ’),

and in memory of this doubtless the king’s coat-of-arms (quarterly, 1st and 4th, arms of King Edward the Confessor, 2nd and 3rd, England and France modern; the supporters being dexter a lion, and sinister a bull; angels holding the shield, which has decorated foliage round about it) has been placed on the capital of the central pillar of the north doorway into the Angel Choir.

It is somewhat curious that, in spite of his being Lincolnshire born, and of the long and close connection of King Henry iv.’s father, John of Gaunt, with this city, no visit of that King’s is known to have taken place in his reign.

In 1421 King Henry v. was at Lincoln, and was present at the decision of an important dispute between a very litigious Dean (John Mackworth) and the members of the Chapter, the former claiming the right of visiting and punishing the offences and excesses of the latter, as well as those of the vicars, mass-priests, prebendaries, etc. The day and place appointed for this decision was the 15th of April, in the great hall of the Bishop’s Palace, where, besides the King, were present the Bishop (Richard Fleming), the precentor, the chancellor, treasurer, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries and laics. The bishop’s ‘Award’ was sealed on the 25th of May of the same year, and subsequently confirmed by letters-patent of King Henry v. on the 30th May 1421.

In 1445, the twenty-fifth year of King Henry vi., he and his queen visited Lincoln, probably as guests of his friend and confessor, Bishop William Alnwick, in his palace. In the Corporation Records it was ordered, 'That the Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, with 80 or 100 of the more respectable and better-dressed persons, shall ride to meet the King on his coming to Lincoln, as many others of the Commons as possible going on foot, to the Cross upon the Hill' (Cross Cliff Hill still called; this must not be confused with Queen Eleanor's Cross on Swine Green, near St. Katherine's Priory), 'and there kneeling shall reverently offer to the King for his good relief which he hath beforetime afforded us, £100 in gold.'

His rival, Edward iv., who had then been proclaimed king by his party, visited Lincoln on March 13, 1461, on his way to fight and win the victorious battle of Towton. By order of the mayor and corporation, twelve pike, twelve tench, and twelve bream were allotted for the king's table during his stay in the city.

Owing, no doubt, to the connection of Lincoln with the Lancaster family, the city was strongly Lancastrian in feeling, and had suffered much in the course of the struggle between the White and Red Rose. It had also received much kindness in the material form of additional privileges in the charters of King Henry iv., King Henry v., and King Henry vi., the last of whom had commanded the judges of assize in Lincolnshire to permit the mayor and citizens of Lincoln to enjoy without interruption the liberty of trial of causes formerly granted to the mayor and bailiffs; he also allowed the city to acquire lands, tenements, and rents to the annual value of £120, and excused the citizens from all payment of tenths and fifteenths for forty years. (Owing to depauperisa-

Lincoln tion by withdrawal of merchants and a great pestilence, etc., scarcely two hundred citizens remained in the city.)

But King Edward iv. was apparently not unforgiving, or the fish dinner must have softened his heart, as on August 29, 1463, he signed letters-patent acquitting the city from payment of £100, part of the fee-farm rent of £180 due to the Crown; and in February 1466 he granted to the mayor (Thomas Grantham, a member of a notable family in this city) and citizens in relief of the desolation which had come upon the city, the four villages of Braunstone, Wadyngton, Bracebrigge, and Canwick, and a large number of quit-rents paid to the Crown for various houses in the city, many of which had formerly belonged to Jews.

King Richard III. was in Lincoln in October 1483, and writes hence to his trusty and right well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and commonalty of the city of York to send forces to Leicester against the Duke of Buckingham's insurrection. A proclamation 'given under our signet at our Cite of Lincoln, the xi day of October,' denounces the duke as a traitor. In the following year he confirmed the charter of Edward iv.

Three years afterwards, in 1486, in the first year of his reign, came King Henry vii. to the city, and the order in Corporation Records runs as follows: 'Anno Regis Henrici vii. primo.—Yt is agreid that a present shal be yeven to oure Sovereign Lorde at his commyng of ffysshie yat is to say xii grette pykes, xii grette tenchis, xii salmons, and xii grette bles' (eels?).

A contemporary account has fortunately been preserved. (*Civitas Lincolnia*, John Ross, p. 112.)

'The King on the 21st or 23rd day of March toke

hys hors well and nobley accompayned at St. Johns of London and rode to Waltham. And from thens along the high way to Cambridge. Hys grace was honourably receyved, both of Universitie and Town. And from thens he rode by Huntyngdon, Stamforde, and to Lincoln, and ther hys grace kept right devoutely the Holy Feste of Ester. And full like a cristene prince, had hys dyvyne servyce in the cathedrall churche and in no privie chapell. And on Sheretharsday' (so called from the custom of shearing the head and clipping the beard on Maundy Thursday, in preparation for Easter, Good Friday being a *Dies non* and Easter Even too busy for so doing) 'he had in the Bishops Hall xxx poore men, to whom he humbly and christenly, for Crist love, with his noble handes did wesch ther fete and yave as great almes like as other his noble progenitours, kynges of Englund have been accustomed aforetyme. And also on Good Friday after all his offrins and observances of halowing of his rings after dyner he yave in almes great summes of money in grotes to poor people besides great almes to poor freres, parsons and lazares howses of that countrie. And on Sheretharsday Good Friday Ester Even and Ester Day the Bishopp of that See' (John Russell) 'did the Divine Service and everyche of the iii days following the principallest residencias ther, being present, did ther divine observances. And the Kyng himself kept every day thus, hearing both the High Masse and Evensong in the said cathedral chirche. And that same weke he removed unto Nottingham.'

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Next year (1487), in the middle of June, King Henry VII. again honoured the city with a visit, immediately after his victory over Lambert Simnel at Stoke, near Newark, when it is probable that he presented the city with the Earl of Lincoln's sword,



Lincoln which still exists among the corporation insignia. 'His first care,' says Speed, 'after the victory settled, was that which most became a religious Prince, the humble and joyous acknowledgment of thanks to God, in the very place. From thence he passeth to *Lincolne* where he spent three days in publike supplications, processions, and thanksgivings, and sent his standard to our *Ladies Church* at *Walsingham* in *Norfolk*, there to remaine as a Monument of his victory and gratitude. Such as are taken in the Battell or Chase are then executed.' From Lincoln he passed into Yorkshire. The Corporation Records testify that the city's hospitality had not diminished. 'Mem: that it is agreid that the Kyng's good grace schall have this present at his cummyng, yat is to say, iij dosen greyn geyse, 1 dosen fat capons and half dosen fat pykes. Item by cause no geyse nor wyld foull myght be gotten, it is agreid the present shalbe ij fat oxen, 1 score fat motones, sex grett fat pykes and 12 fat capons of greyse. Anno regni Regis Hen: vii. secundo.'

In October 1536 occurred the Lincolnshire portion of the Pilgrimage of Grace, if it may be so styled.

There were at least three Commissions at work, any one of which might cause great discontent among the people. The King's Commissioners, to recover the second half of the subsidy granted by Parliament in 1534; the Commissioners for the suppressing of the smaller abbeys, and the Bishop's Commissioners, to assess the benefices for the subsidy, to publish the 'Ten Articles,' and to enforce Cromwell's Injunctions of 1536. At Louth, on October 1st in that year, Nicholas Melton, shoemaker, known as 'Captain Cobbler,' and others took possession of the church, to prevent, as they said, the jewels being given up to the king. In the next day or two similar risings took

place at Caistor, Horncastle, Louth, and other towns, chiefly of Lindsey. The Commissioners were forced into swearing to be faithful to God, the King, and the Commonwealth. Only two deaths were occasioned, seemingly, in the midst of so much excitement; Dr. Raynes, the bishop's chancellor, and another were killed, though others, such as Sir William Sandon, narrowly escaped. They tried vainly to get Lord Hussey, then lord-lieutenant of the county, to take command of the gathering, which soon amounted to many thousands at Lincoln, but he temporised and evaded it.

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Some 25,000 lay in Lincoln on October 6, and the rest round about. A series of articles were drawn up at 'Myle Cross, toward Netlame,' fair written and sent to the king by Sir Edward Maddison. Much trouble had the leaders to keep their forces from pillaging the houses of those who had not joined ranks, while they were waiting the king's reply. The Recorder of Lincoln (Thomas Moigne) gives an account of the reception of this answer, which is so dramatic that it seems well worth quoting. 'On Tuesday afternoon' (one week after the commencement of the rising) 'the gentlemen being in the Chapter House of the Cathedral, some three hundred of the Commons brought Sir Edward Maddison's servant with the King's letter to Sir Robert Tyrwhit, Sir William Shipwith, Sir William Ascough, and Sir Edward, and also a letter from the Duke of Suffolk to the same, which the Commons insisted on hearing. Moigne read the King's letter, and as there was a little clause in it which might stir the Commons' (no doubt the often-quoted, 'the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the moste brute and bestial of the whole realme') 'he omitted it; whereupon a canon, the parson of Snelland (Thomas Retford) said

Lincoln the letter was falsely read, and Moigne was like to be slain. Some two hundred of the Commons withdrew into the cloister, where they said the gentlemen clearly intended to deceive them, and after much debate, agreed to kill deponent (Moigne) and his fellows as they came out of the west door of the Minster' (probably the west door of the chapter-house is meant), 'but their servants conveyed them out by the south door' (again of the chapter-house in all probability) 'to the Chancellor's house, and the Commons put off killing them till the morning. Debated what was to be done, and Moigne advised that, if they could make reasonable force, they should fight rather than go forward, otherwise that they should keep the Close till the King's power should rescue them. Sent for the most honest men of their companies and persuaded them of the danger of going forward. Next morning (Wednesday) the gentlemen in harness, with the honest men in array, met the Commons in the fields, and said they would in no wise go forward till they had answer from the King, because they had undertaken to be suitors to his Highness, and had written to the Duke of Suffolk for his intercession. That night came Mr. Lancaster, a herald of arms, and used himself so wisely with Commons, that after much persuasion they agreed to go home, leaving the gentlemen to sue by letter for their pardon. Thus most of them departed by Friday night.' According to Froude, only about twenty suffered for this Lincolnshire rising. A special Commission under Sir William Parr sat at Lincoln in the following spring, March 6, 1537. Moigne the Reader was found guilty, and was hanged with the Abbot of Kirkstead and another at Lincoln the next day. The Abbot of Barlings, a noted ring-leader in the affair (Matthew Makerell, Bishop of Chalcedon, and suffragan to the Bishop of Lincoln),

and eleven more were tried at the Guildhall, were condemned, and hung or gibbeted in various towns in Lincolnshire, Lord Hussey being executed at Lincoln. Leland speaks of 'Lord Hussey's house at Lincoln on the *west* side of the street, in the suburbs of Wickenford, out of whose bow window he went to execution.' The tradition, however, was always attached to the house of St. Mary's Guild (the so-called John of Gaunt's Stables) on the *east* side of the High Street; and Stukeley, writing about 1730, says (speaking of the Guild House) that the bow window out of which Lord Hussey went to execution was taken down the preceding year. Five years afterwards King Henry VIII. came to the chief city of the 'most brute and bestial shire,' and in July of that year are several notes of preparation for his coming. For example, on the ninth, 'every Alderman that hath been Mayor to provide scarlet gowns, and every other Alderman crimson gowns for the meeting the King on horseback at the farthest part of the liberties, all other inhabitants, being of ability, to make themselves gowns of London russet' (Lincoln green would have been surely more appropriate) 'or other like colour. The King's arms to be set upon the bar gate and on the south side of the Guildhall for the King's coming.' On the 9th of August 1541 the entry is as follows: 'The cummyng of the Kyng to this citie. The King and Queen' (having dined at Temple Bruer, and before meeting the civic authorities, having changed their dress in tents then provided: the king from green velvet to cloth of gold, and the queen from crimson velvet to cloth of silver) 'came about four o'cl., and the Mayor, Recorder, and his brethren met him at the farthest ende of the lybertie of Lyncolne, with the gentlemen of the parts of Lindsey, and there they knealid on theyre knees and cryed two times J'hsu save your

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Lincoln Grace, and the Recorder made a "propocycyon," and after the "propocycyon" so made the Mayor kissed the mace and delivered it to the King, and immediately the King delivered it to him again, and the Mayor on horseback alone did bare the same mace before the King and afore the Lord Hastings then bearing the sword and other bearing the King's maces unto such time as the King entered to the Bishop's palace at Lincoln. To the King our sovereign lord : Please it your most excellent highness that the Mayor, his brethren, and inhabitants of your City of Lincoln do present your Highness towards your Grace's welcome into this your City with this present following :

‘First in fat Oxen 20, price 20 l.

‘Item in fat muttons 100, price 30 l.

‘To the Queen's Grace. Please it your Grace that the Mayoress and her sisters "aldresses" of your City of Lincoln do present your Grace towards your welcome into this your City with this present following :

‘First in pikes 11	} Price 7 l.’
‘(Item) breams 8	
‘(Item) tenches 6	

The Council sat at Lincoln on the 10th and 11th of August, and on the second day letters were written to the Earls of Westmorland and Cumberland requiring them to cause the Lord Scrope and certain other persons of the county of York to repair with diligence to the city of York to be ready there to meet the king, and that the two earls should remain in their own houses on the borders, till they knew more of the king's pleasure. Some of the criminal acts charged against the queen (Catherine Howard) were supposed to be committed during this stay at Lincoln in the Bishop's Palace. On his return from

Yorkshire in October, the king slept one night (October 12th) at Sir John Monson's house at South Carlton (the knighthood was probably conferred on him at this visit), and passed through Lincoln the following day, as he slept on the 13th of October at Nocton, which was then the property of Thomas Wymbush, but no record of this visit to the city is known to be in existence.

‘The manner of King James's first coming to Lincoln. Memorandum. That his Majesty being come to this city the Macebearer was sent to the Lord Chamberlain at Grantham for directions when, where, and in what manner Mr. Mayor and the citizens should meet his Majesty, who returned answer that his Majesty was intending that night to rest at St. Caterin's, and the day following to come into the city, and that, therefore, the Sheriffs with some number of citizens in gowns should meet his Highness at the skirts of the county, and so the day following the Mayor and his brethren with convenient company of citizens to meet him at the Bar Gate, and then and not before, to have some speech to his Majesty, for that his Highness did not love long speeches. Whereupon the 27th day of March 1617, ao. xv. r. R. Jacobi, King James did come from Grantham to Lincoln. But the appointed place for meeting his Highness at the skirts of the county was not observed by reason his Majesty hunted along the heath and came not the highway. And so the sherriffs' (William Solomon and Roger Beck) ‘and citizens removed from that place, and they, with either of them a white staff in his hand, clad in cloth gowns of purple in grain, and on horseback with foot cloths, together with all of note which had been sherriffs on horsback with foot cloths and black gowns of the antientest fashion and all that had been chamberlains of note on horseback

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Lincoln in their gowns of one fashion of violets' colour, without foot cloths, and divers other citizens in cloaks of like colour, booted and spurred, on horse-back, all which were in cloaks with new jaffelings in their hands fringed with red and white (being set in order by one of his Majesty's officers who came before his Majesty's coming to that end) two and two in a rank, were appointed to stand in the highway near the Cross of the Cliff where his Majesty could not miss of them, the sheriffs being hindmost. And when his Majesty drew near them, the two sheriffs only lighted and way being made for them they both went to his Majesty in his caroch, and, kneeling, the elder sheriff delivered his staff first, and the King delivered it him again, and the other sheriff did the like; and so both took horse again, and rid, both bare-headed, before the caroch. The high sheriff of the county' (Sir Francis South of Kelstone, knighted July 23, 1603) 'and his men by the King's officers then were put by and the other citizens in their degrees before the sheriffs rid, all bare-headed, before his Majesty, conducting and attending him to his lodging at St. Catherin's. On the next day his Majesty coming to the Bar gate in his caroch, he there lighted, and took his horse-caparison of state, being most rich, where the mayor' (Robert Mason), 'the recorder, and his brethren the sheriffs, and other citizens afore-named attended him on horse-back and foot-cloths, the mayor and aldermen in their scarlet robes with every of them a man to attend him on foot in civil liveries muchwhat all alike. His Majesty came towards the mayor and recorder who were both lighted on foot hard under the houses on the west side of the street within the Bar gate, and the mayor readily on his knee kneeling tended the sword to deliver it unto his Majesty. But his Majesty put

the sword back, with the back of his hand, (and) with all grace refused to take it from the mayor. Then the King's Majesty asked the mayor if he had any speech to deliver, who answered, "No, but this gentleman, who is our Recorder, hath one." And the King willed, "Say on." So the Recorder kneeling all the time on his knees uttered his speech which his Majesty heard willingly, and with great commendations; which ended, the mayor delivered his Majesty a goodly enamelled and gilt silver cup of a full elne in height, in weight 100 marks in silver or thereabouts, which the King took with great delight and content, and, moving his hat, thanked them, and delivered it to one of his footmen to carry openly in his hand all the way to the Minster and thence conveyed it to his lodging. After the cup delivered the mayor mounted with the sword in his hand, and, placed between the two sergeants at mace, did bear the sword before the King to the Minster, and the Earl of Rutland, being Lieutenant of the county did bear the King's sword, all the said aldermen, sheriffs, and other citizens in their ranks, youngest first, did ride two and two together up the High Street through the Bale unto the Minster Gates at the west end thereof where the King kneeled down on a quishon which was there prepared, and prayed a short prayer, and so under a canopy which was held over him by 4 or 5 Prebends in surplices, went into the quire, the mayor still bearing the sword, aldermen and other citizens in their gowns, going before him into the quire, and there sat by the Bishop's pue hanged about with rich hangings in a chair all prayer time, Mr. Dean' (Roger Parker, D.D.) 'saying prayers and the mayor holding up sword before him all prayer time.

'After prayers done his Majesty went about the



Lincoln church to see the antient monuments thereof, and so went into the chapter-house to see it and from then to his caroch, and therein went towards his lodging at St. Caterin's down Pottergate head, Mr. Mayor bearing the sword until he took caroch as well through Bale Close as church' (*sic*). 'When he took caroch his own sword and all ornaments was put up. The mayor, aldermen and citizens in their ranks as aforesaid rid all before the caroch to attend his Majesty on horseback to St. Caterin's house, where his Majesty at the door put off his hat and dismissed them.

'On Sunday, being the 30th of March, his Majesty went to the Minster in his caroch, and at the west door met three Bishops' (Andrews of Ely, Montague of Winchester, and Neile of Lincoln) 'and the dean and chapter who made a short speech. Mr. Mayor and his brethren sheriffs and other citizens in their gowns did there (as was directed by the Lord Chamberlain and his officers, from whom they had directions for all their carriage and doings) go in their degrees before his Majesty, by two and two in a rank, until the foremost came at the quire-door, then they did divide their ranks and one stood still of one side and another turned and stood on the other and so made a fair lane for his Majesty to keep him from the press of the people. And for order sake first the town clerk, then the two sheriffs, and after them the aldermen in their rank by twos went along (betwixt the citizens) in the way they made before his Majesty into the quire where the Bishop of Lincoln' (Richard Neile) 'preached. After which sermon ended the King healed to the number of fifty persons of the King's evil. When he had so done, the citizens went before him in order as aforesaid unto the Bishop's palace, where he dined, and after dinner his Majesty

went in his caroch in private unto St. Caterin's again.

'On Tuesday, being the 1st of April, Mr. Ealand' (Chancellor of the Cathedral) 'one of the masters in the church preached before his Majesty in his chamber of presence, where after sermon his Majesty did heal liii of the King's evil.

'On Wednesday, being the 2nd of April, his Majesty did come in his caroch to the sign of the George by the Stanbowe to see a cocking there, where he appointed four cocks to be put on the pit together, which made his Majesty very merry. And from thence he went to the Spread Eagle to see a prize played there by a fencer of the city and a servant to some attendant in the court who made the challenge, where the fencers and scholars of the city had the better, on which his Majesty called for his porter who called for the sword and buckler and gave and received a broken pate, and others had hurts. The King then entered his caroch at the inn gate, where the mayor and aldermen did crave answer to the petition' (about scouring the Fossdyke) 'they delivered at the King's coming from the cocking, to whom the King turning gave his hand to Mr. Mayor and Mr. Hollingworth, alderman, who kissed the same, and so rid forewards to St. Katherin's.

'On Thursday there was a great horse race on the heath for a cup where his Majesty was present, and stood on a scaffold the city had caused to be set up, and withal caused the race a quarter of a mile long to be railed and corded with ropes and stoops on both sides, whereby the people were kept out, and the horses which ronned were seen far.

'On Friday there was a great hunting and a race by the horses which rid the scent for a golden snaffle,

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Lincoln and a race by three Irishmen and an Englishman, all which his Majesty did behold. The Englishman wonne the race.'

On the same day the King knighted at Lincoln Sir Henry Bretton of Surrey (brother to the third Lord Willoughby of Parham), Sir John Buck of Lincolnshire (High Sheriff, 1619), and Sir William Wilmer of Northamptonshire (High Sheriff, 1615).

'On Saturday after dinner his Majesty went from St. Katherin's to Newark, at whose departure from St. Caterin's Mr. Mayor and his brethren did give attendance at his coming forth of the presence' (-chamber?), 'and when he took his caroch in the inner court at St. Caterin's he gave forth his hand to the mayor, all the aldermen and the town clerk, who all kissed the same. Then he thanked them all, saying that if God lent him life he would see them oftener, and so took his caroch, and went forward that night to Newark, Mr. Sheriffs riding before him in his caroch in their gowns with their white staves and foot cloths, and men with jafflings, but no citizens, until the hither end of Bracebridge bridge where they likewise took their leaves, and he moved his hat to them; and then the high sheriff and his men received him at the farther end of the bridge beyond the water, and so conducted him on his journey.'

One result of this royal visit was the presentation by the King to the city of the Fosseydyke, the canal joining the Witham at Lincoln to the Trent at Torksey, a canal in all probability made by the Romans. Hovenden says, indeed, that in the year 1121 'King Henry (I.) having, by digging, made a long trench from Torksey as far as Lincoln, by turning into it the River Trent made a passage for shipping,' but this was in all likelihood merely a scouring out of a waterway already existing. But

little use seems to have been made of the canal till  
in 1740 it was leased to Richard Ellison.

From  
1217 to  
the Civil  
War



*Shrine of  
Little St Hugh*





THE MINSTER FROM THE EAST

## CHAPTER IV

HISTORY CONTINUED: FROM CIVIL WAR TO MODERN TIMES



THE MINSTER FROM S.E.

NO accounts, unfortunately, are available from the Corporation Records of the events which occurred at Lincoln in the course of the war between King Charles I. and the Parliament. The king is reported to have visited Lincoln on St. Simon and St. Jude's Day, 1640, and to have been met by one or both sheriffs (Richard

Wetherall and Original Peart) and the citizens at Burton Wall, the boundary of the city in the north-west, and to have presented the large mace to the city. As Colonel Williams has pointed out,<sup>1</sup> the statement about the mace is wrong, and that about Burton Wall doubtful. It is also curious that the mayor (Robert Becke), who was a Royalist, did not appear to welcome the king.

In the following year (1641) the mayor (son of the preceding one), Alderman John Becke, a Parliamentarian, was summoned to York by the king, but

<sup>1</sup> *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. No. 63.

Lincoln according to a MS. Diary of a citizen, 'returned safe.' In the next year the king's party in the city turned the mayor (H. Marshall) out of his place. In the month of June, in the same year, Lord Willoughby of Parham who had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant (first of Lindsey and then of the retirement of the Earl of Lincoln) of Lincolnshire, was raising the County Trained Bands at Lincoln, although he was expressly forbidden by a message from the king. The correspondence between them, and the orders of Parliament in reference to Lord Willoughby, are worth reading.

The Lord Willoughby of Parham's Letter to a Member of the House of Lords, upon his being nominated by the two Houses Lord-Lieutenant for the County of Lincoln. A.D. 1642, June 6.

'MY LORD,—I received a letter from your Lordship, in which the House is pleased to do me a very great Honour, far above any desert of mine, and little expected by me, for, my Lord, I well know my Obedience ties me to fulfill their commands, and in that I have done my Duty, and that which every Honest Man ought to do, and oweth of right to the Parliament, and whosoever hath that Principle in him, it will dictate to him as much and keep him from other by-ways. And for my own part, my Heart ever was, and shall ever be both forward and ready to obey their Lordships' Commands in all things both with Integrity and Industry, and God's curse light upon him and his who carries any other Heart about him. My Lord it is too mean a way for me to express my Acknowledgement in paper for this high Favour which I have received by your

Lordship's letter. I hope to make it appear by my actions that their Lordships see I am not an ungratefull Servant. It is a great encouragement to these parts, their Lordships' resolutions in giving their commands to have the rest of the Militia put in present execution, and truly, my Lord, it was out of that regard I did intimate it to my Lord of Essex, as holding it a thing much conducing to the Publick Good, and the only remedy to cure these Distractions which the Kingdom is in, not out of any regard to myself, for I know if I suffer in executing their Lordships' commands, it must be against their Wills, and when that Day comes I will not give a Straw for what I have were I but a looker on. My Lord, as I was this Day at Lincoln, where I appointed to begin my Muster, there came a Messenger from his Majesty with this Letter, which I held it my Duty to acquaint the House with, and likewise my answer, and am for Lincoln, where, as in all other places, I shall be ready to serve your Lordship, as your most humble Servant,

F. WILLOUGHBY.

'My Lord, ere my letter was sealed up I could not but give your Lordship an Account in how good a posture I found the Trained Bands of Lincoln, which was far beyond my Expectation, considering the Unhappiness in the sickness being dispersed in the Towne, which hindered the appearance of some. But truly, my Lord, that was fully supplied by a Company of voluntiers equal in Number and Goodness of Arms to the Trained Bands.'

The King's Letter to the Lord Willoughby.

June 4, 1642.

'CHARLES R.,—Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well, whereas we understand that you

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Lincoln have begun to assemble, train and muster the Trained Bands of our County of Lincoln, under pretence of an Ordinance of Parliament, whereunto we have not given our consent, which is not only contrary to Law, but to our Command and Pleasure, signified by our proclamation sent to the High Sheriff of that our County. Wherefore that you may not hereafter plead Ignorance of such our Prohibition, we do by these our Letters charge and command You, upon your Alegience, to desist and forbear to raise, muster, train, exercise, or assemble together any part of the Trained Bands of our County, either by yourself or by any others employed under You, or by warrant from You. And because You may, for what You have already done concerning the Militia of that our County, plead that You had not so particular command, we shall pass by what You have already done therein, so as presently upon the Receipt hereof you shall desist and give over meddling any further with anything belonging to the Militia of that our County, but if you shall not presently desist and forbear meddling therewith, We are resolved to call you to a strict Account for your Disobedience therein, after so many particular and legal Commands given you upon your Allegiance to the Contrary, and shall esteem and proceed against You as a Disturber of the Peace of our Kingdom.

‘Given at our Court at York, June 4, 1642.’

#### Lord Willoughby's Answer.

‘SIR,—As there can be nothing of greater heaviness to me that to receive a Command from your Majesty whereunto my Endeavours cannot give as ready obedience as my Affections, so I must confess the

difficulty at this Time not a little how to express that Duty which I owe to your Majesty's late Commands, and not falsify that trust reposed in me by your high Court of Parliament, through whose particular Directions I am now come into this County to settle the Militia according to the Ordinance of Parliament, which by the Votes of my Lord Littleton and others in the House of Peers, better versed in the Laws than myself, passed as a Legal thing, and hath since been confirmed (and if I mistake not) by his Example and your Majesty's chief Justice, Sir John Banks, both in Accepting their Ordinance, and nominating their Deputy Lieutenants: how much farther they proceed I know not.

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‘But, Sir, if the opinion of those great Lawyers drew me into an Understanding insuitable to your Majestie's liking, I hope the want of Years will excuse my want of Judgement. And since the Command of Parliament, I now so far engaged in their Service as the sending out warrants to summons the Country to meet me this day at Lincoln, and afterwards at other places, I do most humbly beseech your Majesty not to impose that command on me which must needs render me false to those that relye on me, and so make me unhappier than any other Misery that can fall upon me.

‘These things, Sir, I once more humbly beseech your Majesty may be taken into your gracious Consideration, and that You would never be pleased to harbour any misconceit of me or of this Action, since nothing hath yet passed by my Commands here or ever shall, but what shall tend to the Honour and Safety of your Majesty's Person, to the preservation of the Peace of your Kingdom, and to the Content (I hope) of all your Majesty's Subjects in these parts, amongst which I remain, Your Majesty's

Lincoln    most humble and most dutifull Subject and Servant,  
F. WILLOUGHBY.'

The Message of the Lords to the Commons,  
upon the Lord Willoughby of Parham his  
Letter and Service in the Execution of the  
Ordinance concerning the Militia.

'The Lords have thought fit to let you know how much they value and approve the Endeavours of this Lord in a service so much importing the safety of this kingdom, and they doubt not of your readiness to concur with them, upon all occasions to manifest the sense they have, and shall retain, of his Deservings, which appears the greater by how much the Difficulties (by those Circumstances You have heard read) have been greater; and as my Lords resolve to make his Interest their own in this Service, for the publick Good and Safety of this Kingdom, so they desire You to join with them in so good and necessary a Work.

'Resolved by the House of Commons to join with the Lords in this Vote, and to make the like Resolution for the Deputy Lieutenants for the County of Lincoln, and desire the Lords concurrence therein.

'Ordered, by the Lords in Parliament, that they agree with the House of Commons for the Resolutions concerning the Deputy Lieutenants of the County of Lincoln.'

Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, was the fifth baron, the peerage having been conferred in 1547 on a member of a junior branch of the family of Willoughby d'Eresby. He had a country seat at Knaith, near Gainsborough, and in Lincoln he lived in Cottesford Place in James Street. According to the survey in 1649, 'This

house is very much decayed and ruined by the garrisons of the late warrs and is now uninhabitable,' probably as the result of Lord Willoughby's pronounced and energetic support of the Parliamentary cause. Through the violence of Parliament, however, he returned in 1648 to his allegiance to the king (after he had been impeached by the Independents and forced to flee into Holland to escape imprisonment in the Tower), and was given the post of vice-admiral of the king's fleet.<sup>1</sup> On the 15th July 1642 a visit of King Charles to the city took place, which was attended, according to a local pamphleteer, with great manifestations of enthusiasm, the road being thronged, he says, for four miles, with nearly sixty (?) thousand people shouting 'A king, a king,' the gentry drawing their swords, and some two or three hundred clergy saluting him with '*Vivat Rex.*'

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Sir Charles Dallison, Recorder of Lincoln, his speech to King Charles I. at his Reception into the said City. July 15th.

'MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,—We, your Majesty's most dutifull and obedient subjects, before we were encouraged by the Influence of your Majesty's presence, know not what to do, being amazed with Fears and Jealousies rumoured and spread abroad whereby divers of your Majesty's good Subjects were distracted, and the more because we never knew, nor could imagine, any cause of Fear or Jealousy.

'Sir, I cannot more properly compare our Case than to a Man in perfect health, yet doth fancy himself Sick of a Consumption, whom if his Fortune be to light of a skilful and honest Physician, he is in no danger; but if upon an Empirick, it is like his

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Williams, *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. No. 64.



Lincoln    Body shall be brought into that Condition which before he did but fancy himself to be in. I am doubtfull if these Persons who have been the Cause of raising and fomenting these Fears and Jealousies, might chose their own Physician and apply their own Medicine, it would hazard the Ruin of the Common Wealth, by abolishing the antient and fundamental Laws thereof; but the Subjects of this Nation (God be thanked) are in a better case. It is not in the power of Wicked Men either to make choice of a Physician, or to apply the Medicine, Your sacred Majesty being our great Physician, and without Your Majesty's Consent and Command, no Medicine can be applied.

‘And to the inspeakable Joy and Comfort of all your Majesty's faithfull Subjects, it is sufficiently signified to the World by your Majesty's most kingly declaration, expressing your Resolutions to maintain and govern by the known Laws of this Realm, to defend the true Protestant Religion established by Law, by which means your loyal subjects shall be preserved and protected from arbitrary Government: let the most evill affected person then deny, if he can, but that we have from our King what is to be wished, and that without asking or petitioning. There is only one question to be asked, and a short answer thereunto: What is now to be done? To which every ingenuous Soul must acknowledge the Want is on our parts, we owe all we have to be disposed by your Majesty for the Maintenance and preservation of your just Rights and Prerogatives, which cannot be maintained, but thereby the priviledges of your Subjects will be likewise defended (the same law defending both) and under which Law the People of this Nation have been most happily governed under your Majesty and Your most noble progenitors many

hundred years. For the Continuation of which  
Government for my own particular (prostrating my-  
self at your Majesty's Feet), I humbly offer and  
render unto your Majesty, myself Estate and  
Fortune.

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‘And, Sir, I have Warrant from the Mayor of this  
City and the whole Body of this Corporation, to  
beseech your Majesty to accept of the like offer from  
them. So with this short Ejaculation I shall conclude,  
beseeching God to bless and preserve your Sacred  
Person, and this our most noble and hopefull Prince  
Charles, with all your royal Issue, and that this  
Nation and People, and all your Dominions may be  
governed by your Majesty and your Posterity to the  
World's End.’

#### The King's Speech to the Gentry and Freeholders of Lincoln.

‘GENTLEMEN,—If I could have suspected your  
Affections, or have your Affections, or have censured  
the Duty of this County by some late Actions in  
it, I should not have taken this pains to have given  
You a Testimony of my Affection to You, and to  
remove those Objections, which being raised by a  
malignant party may by their cunning and Industry  
get credit even with the honest Minds. The truth is,  
I come to You to Assure you of my purposes and  
Resolutions for the Defence of whatever is or should  
be Dear unto You, your Religion, your Liberty, your  
common Interest, and the Law of the Land: and  
to undeceive you of that Opinion, which I hear hath  
mised many of You, that the pretended Ordinance of  
the Militia is warranted by my Consent and Authority.  
As I have already informed you by my several Declara-  
tions and Messages that the same is against the known

Lincoln    Law, and an Invasion of my unquestionable Right, and of your Liberty and Property: so I do now declare unto you that the same is imposed upon You against my express Consent, and in Contempt of my Regal Authority; and therefore, whosoever shall henceforth presume to execute or obey the same, I shall proceed against them as against such as promote Rebellion, and actually levy War against me: and I doubt not but you will sadly consider, that if any Authority, without and against my Consent, may lawfully impose such burthen on you, it may likewise take all that you have from you, and subject you to their lawless Arbitrary power and Government. And how far they are like to exercise that jurisdiction towards you, you may guess by the Insolence of Sr. John Hotham at Hull, who (being a Subject) not only presumes to keep his Sovereign by Force of Arms out of his Town, but murders his Fellow Subjects, imprisons them, burns their houses, drowns their land, takes them Captives, and Commits such outrageous Enemies practice in any Country. That you may see how impossible it is for your Liberties and Properties to be preserved, when your King is oppress'd and his just Rights taken from him. Who hath brought these Calamitys upon your neighbours at Hull, every man sees, and they only can bring the same upon You. I will not believe You to be so insensible of the Benefits You have received from me that I need put You in mind of the gracious Acts passed by me in this Parliament on your behalf; and if there be any thing wanting to the Making You the happiest Subjects in the World, I am sure it is not my fault that You have not that too. Be not deceived with words and general Expressions, it is not in your power to name one particular which might make you happy that I have refused to Grant. Be not frightened

with apprehension that this Country is likely to be the Seat of War, the Seat of a War will be only where Persons rise in Rebellion against me that will not, I hope, be here; and then You shall be sure of my protection. I will live and die in your Defence; and that You may be in a Readiness and a posture to defend yourselves and me against any Invasion or Rebellion, I have armed several persons of Honour, Quality, and Reputation amongst you, and of your own County, with a Commission of Array to that purpose. There is no honest end declared in that Ordinance which is not provided for by this Commission, which being according to the old known Laws, is fit for your Obedience, and I doubt not you will find it.

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‘In a word, I assure you, upon the Faith and Honour of a Christian King, I will be always as tender of anything which may advance the true Protestant Religion, protect and preserve the Laws of the Land, and defend the just Privilege and Freedom of Parliament as of my Life, or my Crown, and when I fail in either of these, I will not look for Your Assistance; till then you are concerned not to see me suffer.’

Colonel Williams says with reference to this visit of the king's, which continued for two nights, that very possibly Sir Matthew Lister (of Burwell in this county), Physician to Queen Henrietta Maria, may have taken the king to the house of his nephew and ‘presumptive heir, Sir Martin Lister, who about this time was lessee of the spacious mansion since known as Deloraine Court. His Majesty would have found himself there among friends, and I am disposed to believe that it was in this house that he stayed during his visit to the city.’<sup>1</sup> The Parliamentarians were again in possession

<sup>1</sup> *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. No. 65.



Lincoln of Lincoln in 1643, and the following orders of both Houses of Parliament ‘for the removing Prisoners out of Lincoln Castle, and for the speedy fortifying of the same,’ were issued on January 9 of that year :

‘It is this day ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament that the high Sheriff of the County of Lincoln for the time being one Smith, Goaler and keeper of the Castle of Lincoln, shall be forthwith required to remove his Prisoners out of the said Castle of Lincoln, to some safe and secure place, and for the present (if a more convenient House cannot be had) the said Smith is hereby authorized to remove his said prisoners to the Bishop of Lincoln’s House, near the said Castle, commonly called the Bishop’s Palace, and to resign and deliver up the said Castle into the Hands of the Earl of Lincoln or such as he shall appoint for the safe keeping of the said Castle and better Security of the City of Lincoln. JOH. BROWNE, Cler. Parl.’

The city walls also were put into a condition of defence, as the churches of St. Nicholas in Newport, just north of the Roman Newport Arch, and of St. Peter’s in Eastgate, just east of the gates across Eastgate, both outside the walls, were destroyed, apparently to hinder the enemy from having cover in their approaches.

‘At this time (viz. Sunday, July 2, 1643) was discovered a Design to deliver up the City of Lincoln, which was then in the Parliament’s Hands, for affecting whereof 2000 of the Queen’s Forces were sent from Newark to the Walls of Lincoln, expecting to be let in at an Hour appointed by the means of Sergeant-Major Purfoy and his Brother, Captain Purefoy, who in order thereunto had a Day or two before admitted into the Town about threescore Cavaliers, in Disguise like Country Market Folks, who were closely sheltered in the Dean’s House, and though, upon some private Intimation from the Mayor of Hull, the two Purefoys

were seized, yet these Gentlemen sallied out into the Town endeavouring to secure the Magazine<sup>1</sup> and Courts of Guard, and did some execution, but by the Discharge of a Cannon by a Country Man, that never Discharged a Piece before in his Life, several of them being slain, they were suppressed, and the Forces without finding their design frustrated retreated.'

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The agents Purefoy were acting, as is stated, for the Hothams of Hull, who were now beginning to waver in their trust, alarmed at the growing strength of the king's party. In August the city was considered to be untenable from its extent and the slightness of the works, and Lord Willoughby of Parham retired with his forces to Boston, a place which seems scarcely to have been even threatened by the Royalists during the war; the Parliamentary strength being then chiefly in the lowland and marsh districts of the county, till on the 9th of October Fairfax, Cromwell, Lord Willoughby, and the Earl of Manchester routed the Royal army completely at the fight of Winceby, near Horncastle. Soon after this victory, *i.e.* on the 24th of October, the Earl of Manchester went on to the city of Lincoln (of which Sir William, afterwards Lord Widdrington of Blankney, had been Governor. He was among the defeated Royalists of Winceby) which was soon surrendered to him upon his summoning it. 'Wherein,' says a contemporary chronicler, John Vicars, 'he found and forced to be left in the City Close and Minster of Lincoln, arms for at least two thousand five hundred men, twenty-eight or thirty colours, three pieces of ordnance and great store of ammunition; the cormorants or cavalierian officers having leave to depart on horseback with their swords, the common soldiers with only sticks.'

No mention, it will be noted, is made in the

<sup>1</sup> Which was in the outer Exchequer Gate.

Lincoln extract of the castle, and it is possible that it was sometimes held for the king, even when the city was in Parliamentary hands. In 1644, at all events, the Royalists held both castle and city under the governorship of Sir Francis Fane. Accordingly, after an unsuccessful fight near Newark in that year, which appears to have much encouraged the Lincoln Royalists, the Earl of Manchester arrived before the city of Lincoln in May. From the account given in a narrative of one of the earl's chaplains, Mr. William Goode, the following extracts are taken. 'We came to Lincoln on Friday, the 3rd of this month (May) in the afternoon; on which day, in the morning Colonel Sir Peregrine Berty (High Sheriff of this County) the Earl of Lindsey's brother and sometime Governor of the City, was brought to us by a party of ours. We drew up our whole army in the face of the city on the brow of the hill near Lanwick' (Canwick?) 'and perceiving the enemy had made the entrance into that part which is called the Old Town' (? the *Low* Town, as later on) 'very strong, my Lord sent a trumpet to them with a fair demand of the place for the King (?) and Parliament; whereunto a very uncivill answer was returned, reproaching us with the defeat at Newarke, hoping we should be served here as there. Hereupon my Lord commanded two regiments of foot, viz: Colonel Russel's and Col. Montague's, to draw down to the gate and drawbridge; which they accordingly did with great alacrity and resolution, being led on by those two valiant and religious colonels, who through the might of God so undauntedly approached the enemy, that after a very short dispute, terror seized upon their spirits and our men seized upon their works, and so possessed themselves of the lower town, the enemy flying to the upper town and castle. Ours

took divers of the enemy without the loss of any on our side, which we humbly acknowledge to God's glory to be a great mercy. Upon the enemy's retreat they endeavoured the firing the Low Town, but ours pursuing closely prevented their mischievous intention in a great part, and helped to quench those houses which they had fired. By this time the evening drew on, wherefore we pursued no farther at present, resolving by God's help, to have stormed the town and castle next morning by break of day (though the common soldiers seemed to be impatient even of that short and needful delay), but by reason of the rain which fell that night and all the next day and night,<sup>1</sup> we were necessitated to defer till Monday about three of the clock in the morning, at which time it was resolved the infantry being drawn up in three divisions and appointed to their several posts, should, upon the discharge of three great pieces, fall on. In the interim, God gave us the Sabbath day, wherein we might seek him for his blessing on so great a work, in the afternoon whereof about two of the clock, my lord had intelligence that the enemy was drawn over Trent, and fallen into some of his dragoons' quarters and intended to beat up some of the horse quarters there adjacent; whereupon the quartermaster-general forthwith sent the alarum to all the troops (having one out of every troop attending him for such like extraordinary orders), whereby our whole body of horse was drawn together in little more than an hour.

As further news arrived of the repulse of the Royalists at a bridge over the Trent, the horse forbear their march in that direction, but the earl consults as to delaying the assault of the castle and

<sup>1</sup> Another account says that 'the mount whereon the castle stands being exceeding steep, and by reason of the rain very slippery.'



Lincoln upper city under the circumstances. 'But it was presently agreed that by the help of our God, the lieutenant-general should with our horse attend the enemy's horse, and our foot storm the town, which was done accordingly, wherein we received marvellous mercy from God, who gave such wisdom and valour to men, for that in one quarter of an hour we had gained their works, every division beating back the enemy, and entering the place allotted to them, to the admiration of the ablest and wisest of our enemies, who have confest that though they knew our intention to storme that night, and thereon had drawne out all their own forces being twenty-one foot companies and two troopes of horse, besides the help of many of the city, to make good the works against our assault, yet they were not able to stand out against the fierceness of our men, whom as they said, they thought madde to come on in so desperate a manner, at which they were much terrified and amazed, and fled to hide themselves, but their pursuers found them out though they were crept into the Cathedral. In all, we killed and took prisoners of the common soldiers about 800; officers, etc., above 100. In the whole neer about 1000 men—considering the greatness of the success our loss is not considerable. For, albeit colonels and other superior officers went into the face of all the danger, performing equal service with the meanest soldiers (who undubitably received much life and courage from the undaunted resolution and forwardness of their commanders), yet we lost not any field officer, only two majors wounded, one captain and an ensign slain and about ten common souldiers, most of whom were slaine with stones throwne upon them from the castle walls.'

There were taken Sir Francis Fane, the governor, Colonel Sir Charles Dallison, Colonel Middlemas, and

Colonel Bandes, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, twenty captains, four drums, one trumpet, about seven hundred private soldiers, one hundred horse, all their arms and ammunition, and eight pieces of ordnance. All the pillage of the Upper Town, which was taken by storm, was given to the soldiers.

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Goode's account was published 'to draw thankfulness to the Lord of Hoasts from all.'

Considerable damage was done to the buildings in the city. St. Botolph's Church, close by Bar Gate, a large and fine church, probably suffered in the Earl of Manchester's first assault of the city, and fell down in 1646. St. Swithin's is recorded to have been set on fire and burnt, from flakes and burning sparks being carried to it by wind from an explosion of gunpowder on the Cornhill. St. Martin's and St. Michael's on the Mount were very much damaged by the Parliamentary cannon.

*Mercurius Rusticus* (1646) gives an account of a Lincolnshire squire, William Caldwell of Thurganby Hall, near Grimsby, whose 'loyalty and desire to serve the king in his just wars made him overlook his infirmities so that he resolved to come in person to his assistance; and furnished four horses completely equipped.' These were taken by the 'Rebells,' and in February 1642 troopers came to his house demanding admission; they 'presently broke up his Hall windows,' apprehended him, began to plunder his goods, and killed a servant who protested. Having been brought to Lincoln he was 'lodged first in the Towne gaole, in the common keep among murtherers and felons. The day after the Lincolnshire Rebels received the defeat before Newarke, by a verbal command from the Earle of Lincolne, he was removed from the Towne Prison to the Castle in Lincolne, where he was put into a nasty stinking place called

Lincoln the Witch Hole, and without any regard to his quality, being a gentleman of prime note in his county, or his age being an old man, they permit him to stay there all night, having no other bed but the ground, and no other pillow but the hard stones.' Later on he was again moved 'into the commun dungeon where he had neither light nor ayre but what the Grate afforded. The place was of such condition that there being three prisoners with him in the same roome, but one of the foure must lye downe at once, the rest must stand.'

The chronicler adds much more about his treatment, and that of his wife who came to him. Afterwards, as we have seen, Lincoln became Royalist once more, when we may hope the aged Loyalist was released, and got to his home before the capture of the city a second time from his king.

According to tradition, the minster was proposed to be despoiled and reduced to ruins, but this was firmly opposed by the then mayor (Original Peart, whom as sheriff we have met before at Burton Wall, who was also M.P. for the city in 1654 and 1656), and most fortunately dropped through. Cromwell's horses are supposed to have been stabled inside the Minster; but the rings (in the great piers which support the central tower) to which they were assumed to be fastened were really for the bell-ropes for the pretty peal of Lady Bells which used to hang in the tower.

Probably the worst damage done by the soldiers was to the glass in the Minster windows, and—judging from the quotation from Evelyn—to the sepulchral brasses with which the pavement and chapels were once richly adorned.

Colonel Williams<sup>1</sup> gives the following account of the destruction of the Bishop's Palace:

<sup>1</sup> *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, vol. viii. No. 66, pp. 167-170.

'Early in 1648, King Charles I., who had been for some time coquetting with the Presbyterians and Independents, whilst at the same time intriguing with the Scots, succeeded in inducing the latter to invade England. As soon as they advanced across the border, the Royalists broke into revolt in various parts of the country, and in Yorkshire, on June 1st, Colonel John Morris, one of Langdale's officers, succeeded in smuggling into the Castle of Pontefract a number of Royalists disguised as peasants, who, surprising and overcoming the garrison, obtained possession of it for the King. Pontefract became at once a rallying place for loyal Royalists and discontented Parliamentarians, of whom there were many; and a considerable force of horse and foot was soon collected there, of which Sir Philip Monkton was placed in command. From thence they raided the neighbourhood, and extended their operations into adjoining counties, plundering especially the houses of persons well affected to Parliament.

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'Pursuant to an Ordinance of Parliament, the gentlemen of Lincolnshire met the Parliament's Committee sitting in Lincoln, early in June, and resolved to form a troop of horse for the protection of Belvoir and Tattershall Castle. These were the only places in the county at that time capable of offering resistance to attack, the city defences not having been repaired, in accordance with the policy of the Government, whereby the greater part of the fortifications in England had been dismantled. Colonel Edward Rossiter was the military commandant of the county, and had his headquarters at Belvoir. Very soon 120 honest men, old soldiers besides officers, wanting only pistols, which they obtained from the London Committee at Derby House, were enrolled, but, on several old malignants offering them-



Lincoln selves, pretending affection to the Parliament, Major Henry Markham, the Governor of Lincoln Castle, imprisoned them on suspicion, dismissing some, however, after a short detention only.<sup>1</sup>

‘About the middle of June information was received by the Lincoln Committee that the “Pomfractors” had entered the Isle of Axholme, and the horse, then quartered in the city, were sent out to discover the truth of the alarm. Letters were also received from the Nottingham Committee, expressing fears lest they would attack Newark, and desiring that Colonel Rossiter would assist them with 100 horse, promising that Nottingham, Derby and Leicestershire would join them with 500 horse and dragoons at Newark. This, the Lincoln Committee agreed to do, and they also sent 60 horse to guard Belvoir Castle, and 50 foot to Tattershall Castle, leaving only 100 men under Captain Bee, a woollen draper of the city, for its defence.

‘On Monday, June 26, it was reported<sup>2</sup> that the Pontefractors had “Secured Eyres-mouth(?) a piece of ground of advantage in the Isle of Axholme,” where they were joined soon after by a strong force of horse and foot, sent by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, out of Yorkshire. On Friday morning, June 30, news reached Lincoln at 11 o’clock that 400 horse dragoons, and 200 musketeers had crossed the Trent by Gainsborough Ferry and were marching on the town. Intelligence was at once sent off to Colonel Rossiter, trusting that he might be able to muster a force to relieve the city, and in the meantime Captain Bee, with his 100 men, all the strength he could raise, withdrew into the Palace, the only place capable of defence, which had escaped the destruction

<sup>1</sup> Packets of Letters from Scotland, Lincoln, etc., B.M.E. 449, 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Perfect Weekly Account*, B.M.E. 450, 3.

of the assault of 1644, and whose walls, 16 feet high, afforded hope of protection until the wished-for succour could arrive. The magazine of arms had, some time ago, been removed to the Arsenal, at Hull, but such arms as were yet in the city together with the City Funds and other valuables, were removed to the palace for safety.

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‘Between 12 and 1 o’clock on Friday the Cavaliers under Sir Philip Monkton arrived, and entering the lower town without resistance, marched up to the Cathedral, of which they took possession and proceeded to fortify it against surprise. The main object of their raid upon the defenceless and impoverished city seems to have been plunder, and to this they devoted themselves without delay. All the houses of the “honest men” of the city, *i.e.* of the supporters of Parliament, were raided, and amongst them, that of Captain Original Peart, who was away in Northumberland, bearing arms for it. He then resided in St. Peter at Gowts, and his house was probably so wrecked as to have become uninhabitable, as we are told by Pryme, that on the sale of the Bishop’s land, “he got a great part, and upon some in the city of Lincolne built a delicate fine house which cost him about £900, out of which, however, he was soon turned when the Bishop was re-established on King Charles the Second’s return.” The Cavaliers next attacked the Bishop’s Palace, and after three hours, succeeded in setting fire to the house. Captain Bee, fearful of being consumed with the premises, thereupon offered to surrender upon terms, amongst others, of the protection of his person and his estate. To these, they agreed, but no sooner was the palace delivered, than they broke the conditions, seized and carried away, as prisoner, Captain Bee and Captain Fines; Alderman

Lincoln Emis, the Mayor, Alderman Dawson, and all the other officers, and soldiers. The palace was plundered, wrecked and burnt, and left in ruins; and the arms and money found there, with the other plunder of the city, including all the wares and goods of the unfortunate woollen draper, Captain Bee, were put in carts and sent away to Gainsborough.

‘We are only told of two acts of serious personal violence committed by the cavaliers. One was in the case of a person named Smith, an Agent of the hated Commissioners of Sequestrations, who is said to have been killed by them, possibly because he had rendered himself particularly obnoxious in the discharge of his duties, but rather, let us hope, in the attack on the palace. The other case was that of Mr. Reyner, Rector of St. Peter-at-Arches, who had returned to Lincoln and had been appointed preacher at the Cathedral by the assembly divines after the abolition of the Dean and Chapter. In July, 1643, Mr. Reyner had been attacked by the Royalist soldiery, and now again they sought for him. They found him at the Minster, and he fled into the library to hide himself. They followed him, however, with drawn swords, swearing they would have him dead or alive, whereupon he opened the door and delivered himself up to them. They stripped him of his coat, and robbed him of his purse, and then led him away in triumph through the streets of the city, until Captain Gibbon, one of the Royalist leaders, who had been his scholar at Rasen, met them and released him.

‘On Saturday morning Sir Philip Monkton issued a warrant to Mrs. Smith, the Keeper of the Castle, requiring her to release all prisoners committed upon malice and for their loyalty to His Majesty, rather than upon any other sufficient ground, and informing

her that Captain Thomas Bird, the bearer of the warrant, who had himself been, for two years, unjustly imprisoned there for His Majesty's cause, would intimate to her the persons worthy of their liberty.

'Captain Bird, having himself escaped from the toils, was in a generous mood, and not only set all the men, whether detained for crime or otherwise, but also all the women, some of whom were charged with child murder, at liberty, enrolling the men as recruits in the King's service.

'Sir Philip finding neither sufficient arms, ammunition, nor provisions in the City to garrison it, and hearing that Colonel Rossiter was raising forces from all parts of the county,' marched off with his plunder to Gainsborough, and Colonel Rossiter followed, after passing through Lincoln at three o'clock on Tuesday morning, and at Willoughby near Nottingham, obtained a complete victory over the Royalists.

In 1654 John Evelyn passed over the Humber 'in a good barg to Barton, the first towne in that part of Lincolnshire. All marsh ground till we came to Brigg, famous for the plantations of licorice, and then had brave pleasant riding to Lincoln, much resembling Salisbury Plaine. Lincoln is an old confus'd towne, very long, uneven, steepe, and ragged; formerly full of good houses, especially churches and abbies. The Minster almost comparable to y<sup>t</sup> of York itselſe, abounding with marble pillars and having a faire front. Herein was interr'd Q. Elianor, the loyal and loving wife who suck'd the poison out of her husband's wound; the Abbot founder, w<sup>th</sup> rare carving in y<sup>e</sup> stone; the greate Bell, or Tom, as they call it; I went up the steeple, from whence is a goodly prospect all over the country. The souldiers had lately knocked off most of the brasses from the gravestones, as so few inscriptions

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were left; the told us that these men went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in till they had rent and torne off some barge loads of mettall, not sparing even the monuments of the dead, so hellish an avarice possessed them, besides w<sup>ch</sup> they exceedingly ruin'd the Citty. Here I saw a tall woman six foot two inches high, comely, middle ag'd and well proportion'd who kept a very neate and cleane ale house and got most by people's coming to see her on account of her height.'

In 1655 a petition was sent up to the Protector's Council of State from the mayor, aldermen, and councillors (who were on the side of the Commonwealth) complaining of certain irregular proceedings of the corporation. This petition was considered by a Committee of Council, and referred to Major-Generals Edward Whalley and James Berry for examination on the spot.

The first-named had been garrison commander at Lincoln, was cousin to Oliver Cromwell, and was in command of the militia over the district embracing the counties of Lincoln, Notts, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester. His name appears as the fourth in the first column of those attached to the death-warrant of King Charles I. He (with his colleague) displaced the newly elected Royalist mayor, and forced the Council to appoint a Cromwellian town clerk, using a remarkable threat in the process, in that if they refused he would take their sword and charter from them. From this, and other facts, Colonel Williams believes that the third municipal sword had been given to the city by King Charles I. on his visit in 1642.

Major-General James Berry was the lieutenant who, according to Cromwell's letter, 'slew General Cavendish with a thrust under his short ribs' at the engagement near Gainsborough on Friday, July 28,

1643. He was appointed Major-General over Hereford, Shropshire, and Wales. A few years previously (about 1652) he had purchased the Bishop's Palace, and made a house out of the Alnwick Tower and great hall (which can be seen in Buck's plate taken in 1726). On July 7, 1655, the Corporation Records note that Major-General Edward Whalley and Major-General James Berry were admitted to the franchises of the city.

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After the Restoration (November 28, 1660), in the Corporation Records is noted a letter from the king with reference to the displacing of intended aldermen and restoration of those 'displaced in these late ill times'; and that the two maces were to be altered, the king's arms, crown, and cross should be set upon the great mace, and that the small mace should have the king's arms engraven upon it.

Lincoln must have been visited by a very notorious person—Judge Jeffreys—probably in 1684, when he was Lord Chief Justice, as the following extracts relating to a surrender of the Charles I. charter and the reception of a new one testify. After having agreed 'with unanimous consent to surrender the charter of King Charles I. to his present Majesty,' King Charles II., on the 10th of July 1684, 'Letters were read, on September 4, from the mayor to the Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys at York, dated July 11, and from Jeffreys in reply dated July 14. The mayor thanks him in the name of the city for the honour of his late visit, informs him of the agreement for the surrender, and desires instructions by the bearers to whom and in what manner those employed herein shall make application when at London or at Court. Jeffreys returns thanks for the late kind and noble reception of him and his Brother' (Judge?) 'and for their truly loyal vote; has given the King

Lincoln by this post a full account of their loyal and prudent behaviour; will not forget his promise of making their way easy, and freeing them from as much expense in money and time as he can.'

On November 2, being Sunday, 1684, the surrender and charter of Charles I. were presented to the king by a deputation of four persons—the then mayor, Thomas Kent, William Horton and Thomas Townam, aldermen, and Original Peart, town clerk, introduced by Jeffreys, together with a petition for a new charter 'and several other things, and the King received them very kindly, and promised them a new charter, etc.'

On January 1, 1685, comes a notice of the reception of this new charter: 'This morning about 8 o'clock, Mr. Mayor' (John Coxall) 'and the aldermen in their scarlet gowns, the sheriffs, common councilmen and chamberlains, all in their gowns, attended with the company of trained bands and several gentlemen, and inhabitants to a considerable number, walked from Mr. Mayor's house to Barrgates and so against St. Katherine's, and upon the green there Mr. Mayor received the new charter from Sir Thomas Hussey, bart., who had it sent to him by the Earl of Lindsey, the city's new Recorder. So soon as Mr. Mayor received the charter and the key of the box where the same was, he opened the box and took the charter out, and he, the aldermen, sheriffs, common councilmen, chamberlains and most of the gentlemen and company there, kissed the seal and after loudly shouted *God save the King!* Then Mr. Mayor delivered the charter to the Town Clerk who was present in his gown, and ordered him to carry it open before him to the Guildhall. Thereupon Mr. Mayor with Sir Thomas Hussey and several other gentlemen, the aldermen, and all the rest of

the body and company, walked up the city to the Guildhall, the trained bands going before to make way; the street was filled with people, the city's waits playing before Mr. Mayor and the bells ringing. In this manner they came to the Guildhall where the charter was openly read by the Town Clerk and the hall was crowded with people. Then Mr. Mayor was sworn mayor and justice of the peace. Which being done they came out of the Guildhall and so went to the great conduit, which ran claret wine, and there drank the King's and Duke of York's health. After that, the gentlemen and company went along with Mr. Mayor to his house to a great dinner. After dinner, in their way Mr. Mayor and the company drank the King's and Duke of York's health at the lesser conduit, which ran likewise claret wine, etc. The bells rang all the day, and music played, drums beating, etc., and the night concluded with bonfires and the ringing of bells clear through the city.'

The next entry, some five weeks afterwards, is also of loyalty, but to another king; the Duke of York having become King James II. '1685, February 9. This day in the afternoon, not long after the post came in, his Majesty King James II. was proclaimed King in these several places, viz. upon the green in St. Botolph's parish, upon the hill against St. Mary's church, at the Stonebow, at Bailgates, in the Minster Yard, and in Newport, by the Mayor and aldermen in their scarlet gowns, the Town Clerk, sheriffs, common councilmen and chamberlains in their gowns all on horseback, the Dean and Chapter being present, and several gentlemen, citizens and inhabitants attending, all on horseback, attended with a great number of citizens, inhabitants and others on foot according to the order of Council. After his Majesty was proclaimed as aforesaid, the Mayor, aldermen, etc., went

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Lincoln to the Guildhall when a banqueting was provided at the City's charge, and then they went to some bonfires and drank the King's, Queen's and royal family's healths, and the night concluded with bonfires, drums beating, ringing of bells, etc.'

Four years later, the same rejoicings, bonfires, bellringing, etc., took place on the occasion of the proclamation of King William III. and Queen Mary. On the 23rd of January 1695, an address of condolence on the death of Queen Mary was ordered to be sent to the king.

On October 28, the same year: 'This morning so soon as the post came in from Grantham, Mr. Major and the aldermen received an account that his Majesty King William was on his journey from London and intended to be in this city to-morrow night, and so pass clear through it to his lodgings at Lieut.-Col. Pownall's house in the Minster Yard, late the house where Bishop Fuller lived. Presently after, Mr. Major sent to the aldermen to meet him at the Guildhall to consult what was the best to be done, and accordingly they met together, and went clear down the street as far as the Little Goat (Gowts) Bridges, and as they went along, they ordered all the parishes to get carts and labourers to cleanse the streets and carry the dirt and rubbish away from thence. Which was done accordingly that day and the next day before the King came, as well as possibly could be done upon such a short warning. All the cross rails down the street were ordered to be taken up, and all stones, wood and other obstructions lying and being in the highway were removed. In the afternoon Mr. Major ordered his officers to give notice and warning to Mr. Recorder, all the aldermen, sheriffs, common councilmen, and chamberlains, the steward and town clerk all to pro-

vide horses and to meet the next day at the Guildhall in their gowns at three o'clock in the afternoon.'

'1695, October 29. This day about 3 o'clock in the afternoon Mr. Major and the aldermen (etc.) all in their gowns, attended with the Major's officers in their gowns, all met at the Guildhall, and when all were ready they went into the High Street against the said hall and there mounted on horseback, the city's waits, Newark waits, trumpets, hautboys and drums being all ready, they rode down the street two and two together, as far as the Great Barr gate, the music playing, trumpets sounding and drums beating before them, attended with a great number of gentlemen, citizens and others, all on horseback. When they came there, and waited an hour or two, the sheriffs with their officers on horseback rid up Cross a Cliff, and about the midway to Reddhall they there waited for his Majesty's coming with torches, links and flamboys; and about 7 o'clock at night, the King in his coach with some of his lords, attended with his guards, came there, and the sheriffs on their knees offered their white staves to his Majesty but he did not take them. Then the sheriffs got upon their horses and rode bare before the King's coach (the guards being on both sides them and the coach) till they came to the Great Barr Gate, where Mr. Major, the Recorder, aldermen and company staid. When the King's coach was just through the gate, Mr. Major on his knees offered to give his Majesty the great sword which belongs to the city, but the King did not take it. Then Mr. Recorder being just by Mr. Major and near the King's coach, he on his knees made a speech to his Majesty, congratulating his Majesty's safe coming to this city, and how joyful the city in general were to see his Majesty, with a great many expressions of loyalty and duty.

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‘Mr. Recorder having ended his speech, Mr. Major and he got upon their horses (the rest of the aldermen and a great company of the body of the city, with a great many gentlemen and others, all on horseback), and so Mr. Major bore the sword before the King’s coach, with the hat of maintenance on his head, clear through the city to the King’s lodgings in the Minster yard, to Lieut.-Col. Pownall’s house, as before. The aldermen went just before Mr. Major, and the other company before them all, on horseback, in ranks, the music, trumpets, and drums before, playing, sounding, and drums beating, clear up the street without intermission. The streets were full of flamboys, torches, links and candles, and crowded with vast numbers of people, and great shoutings and loud acclamations of the people; all the houses, shops and other places were all illuminated with lights and candles, the bells all ringing. When the King came to his lodgings, Mr. Major and the aldermen went in before his Majesty, attended by the gentlemen and others. The King when he was got into the house went up “staiths” into a chamber, and staid there a little while. After, the King came down again, and then Mr. Major, the Recorder, aldermen, steward, town clerk and sheriffs, all on their knees, kissed his Majesty’s hand, and were afterwards entertained at a banquet with wine of all sorts and sweetmeats in great quantities, all at the King’s charge.

‘The next morning between 7 and 8 o’cl., Mr. Major and the aldermen in their scarlet gowns, the town clerk, sheriffs, and common council men, waited upon his Majesty to the Minster to hear prayers. And after the prayers were ended, his Majesty took coach and went immediately to the Duke of Newcastle’s house, to Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, attended by the high sheriff of Lincolnshire and a

great many gentlemen and others, all on horse-back.'

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Writing five years before the date of King William III.'s visit, Abraham de la Pryme gives a rather doleful account of the state of the city: 'I observed when I came to Lincoln that several stately houses and churches are let fall to the ground piece by piece, and this which has been such a famous citty heretofore, there is scarce anything worth seeing in it but the High Street, it being indeed a most stately and excellent structure and is the chief ornament of the town.'<sup>1</sup>

About this period, and for many years later, Lincoln would be quite a metropolis to the county of which it was the chief (and very much the largest) town. A list of parishioners of one small church is given by Canon Maddison, relating to the year 1689, and a number of the gentry and county families figure in it. For the following hundred and fifty years it was a small and fairly typical cathedral city, with but little alteration in its numbers. According to a perhaps somewhat liberal estimate, at the time of Domesday there was some 6000 inhabitants; in the reign of King Edward III. (1345-46) there were about 4000, and about 5000 at the commencement of King Richard II.'s reign. This looks as though losses due to the 'Black Death' in 1348 had been made up. The city must have suffered severely from the 'Sweating Sickness' in the years 1550 and 1557, to judge from the orders issued on the subject. The population at the beginning of the last century was 7398 (1800), and in 1840 nearly double, *i.e.* 13,919. At the last census (1901) its numbers were returned at 48,784. It seems to have had a reputation for not manifesting an excess of quickness, as the dictum of King George III. testifies, if it be correct. On the occasion of his recovery from

<sup>1</sup> *Diary* (Surtees Society), p. 19.



Lincoln illness a congratulatory address was presented, some time afterwards, to his Majesty, who received it with the comment, 'Ah, city of Lincoln, slow but sure, slow but sure.' The Witham seems to have been hardly navigable below Lincoln in certain seasons, and even up to the latter end of the eighteenth century goods and merchandise had to be transhipped from Brayford to below the exit of the river from the city. The river was often fordable just by the High Bridge. 'Horses and carriages,' says our ancient chronicler (in 1740), 'pass through the water underneath' (the bridge), 'in summer-time and dry seasons, when the water is low.' In the High Street, to give an example of the infrequent traffic at the end of the eighteenth century, it may suffice to note that, according to Precentor Venables, 'a rope-walk was carried right across the thoroughfare where are now Nos. 321 and 322, and that the work of the ropemakers was not interrupted by the vehicular traffic more than five or six times in the day.'<sup>1</sup>

A remembrance of the Napoleonic wars may be found in the Depôt (still existing, though now part of a brewery), in Gas Street, which was built in 1806, contained 6000 stand of arms, and was guarded by a detachment of invalids from the Royal Artillery. At the present time Lincoln possesses the Depôt on the Burton Road for the Lincolnshire Regiment, and it may become the headquarters of one battalion thereof. It also is the headquarters of the 3rd Battalion (Militia), and of the 1st Volunteer Battalion, for whose use a fine Drill Hall was built in Broadgate, by the late Joseph Ruston, D.L. The old Militia Barracks, on the Burton Road, now houses the permanent staff of the Lincolnshire Imperial Yeomanry.

<sup>1</sup> *A Walk through the Streets of Lincoln*, Edmund Venables, Akrill, Lincoln, 1883.

The greatest thing wanting in Lincoln in military affairs is a rifle-range, which it is much to be hoped will be provided before long by the united efforts of the War Office, the Lincoln Corporation, the officers of the various forces concerned, and private energy and public spirit.

His Majesty's Prison, on the Greetwell Road, was built in the years 1869-1872 for the parts of Lindsey. It now is the only prison for almost all the county and some portions of Nottinghamshire. It is a handsome castellated building (the outside view of which is generally preferred), and looks exactly what it is, which is a great merit in architecture (and of which the late Newgate Prison was a memorable example).

In the nineteenth century, flour-mills began to be a prominent feature in the commercial side of Lincoln life, as might be expected from the centre of a great agricultural country, and they are still much in evidence alongside the wharfs of Brayford. In this connection, it is interesting to note that Lincoln as a corn-market ranks as one of the two most important ones in the kingdom (Norwich being easily the first). Out of the last ten years (1895-1904) Lincoln was first for oats three times, and for barley once, London and Peterborough being the only other cities which appear in the list of 'firsts' in the agricultural returns for these years.<sup>1</sup> Between 1840 and 1850 a very far-reaching change took place in the establishment of agricultural and other machinery and general engineering works, whose names have now a world-wide reputation, such as Ruston, Procter and Co., Clayton and Shuttleworth, Robey and Co., William Foster and Co.; and smaller firms, such as Messrs. Rainforth and Sons, Penney and Co. These occupy many acres of land with their works, and employ

<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, Sept. 1, 1905.

Lincoln several thousands of workmen. Other firms are the Malleable Iron Works, Crank Works, Cooke's Plough Works, etc.

Before the advent of great commercial prosperity in the last fifty years, Lincoln—it is pleasant to think—had not been forgetful of the needs of 'the halt, the maimed, the sick and the blind'; for, in 1769, a County Hospital was built on the brow of the hill, just south-east of the castle. After more than a century of admirable work, it was transferred in 1878—as the position had become quite unsuitable—to a spacious and handsome building situated a little east of Lindum Terrace, in its own grounds, and freely open to the sun and air. It now contains over 120 beds, has a special children's ward, a new and perfectly equipped operating-room and appurtenances, and the latest electrical and sterilising appliances. The Lincoln General Dispensary—one of the most useful and beneficent institutions in the city—was founded in 1826, and is now located in Silver Street. The Institute for Nurses was originated by the late Mrs. Bromhead in 1867, and has proved of inestimable service in the supply of nurses both for private houses and for gratuitous attention to the poor in the various parishes in the city. The Red House, in Nettleham Road, was erected in memory of Mrs. Bromhead. 'The Lawn,' a private hospital for the treatment of the insane, was built originally in 1820, and occupies a good position on the summit of the hill just west of the castle. It is well-known by name to specialists in mental disease as the place where the system of non-restraint was carried out primarily by Drs. E. D. Charlesworth and Gardiner Hill. A statue of the former physician, by the sculptor Milnes, will be seen at the corner of Carline Road and the Union Road. Among the

most charming pieces of modern architecture are the St. Anne's Bedehouses, founded and built in Sewell's Road by the late Rev. R. Waldo Sibthorp, from the designs of Pugin, in 1847. The chapel is by Butterfield.

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Between the Steep Hill and the Bishop's Palace are the buildings of Christ's Hospital, founded by Dr. Richard Smith (who died at Welton in 1602), for twelve poor children, who were clothed, boarded, and educated in the institution. After many years of great usefulness (some of the leading citizens of Lincoln having come from this school), the scheme was entirely rearranged; scholarships at and from the elementary schools replaced the 'Blue-coat boys,' and a Girls' High School was founded and built in Lindum Road. The buildings are now occupied by the Church House and Institute, which is an expansion of night schools originated by the late Archbishop Benson when Chancellor of the Minster, and Subdean Leeke.

The School of Science and Art, or Municipal Technical Schools, in Monks Road, with the day-school attached, is under the management of the Lincoln corporation. The art branch originated in a school started in 1863 by the late Rev. J. S. Gibney, in Silver Street. Its first headmaster was Mr. E. R. Taylor, whose very successful after-career as headmaster at Birmingham School of Art is well known; its present headmaster is Mr. A. G. Webster. Frank Bramley, A.R.A., William Logsdail, J. H. Bentley, and George Carline are a few of the names of its most distinguished *alumni*.

Allusion has been made, in the account of King James I.'s visit, to horse-racing on the Heath. In the Corporation Records are a number of entries referring to gifts of money or plate, from the value of £20 to £50, towards the horse-races. These meetings are

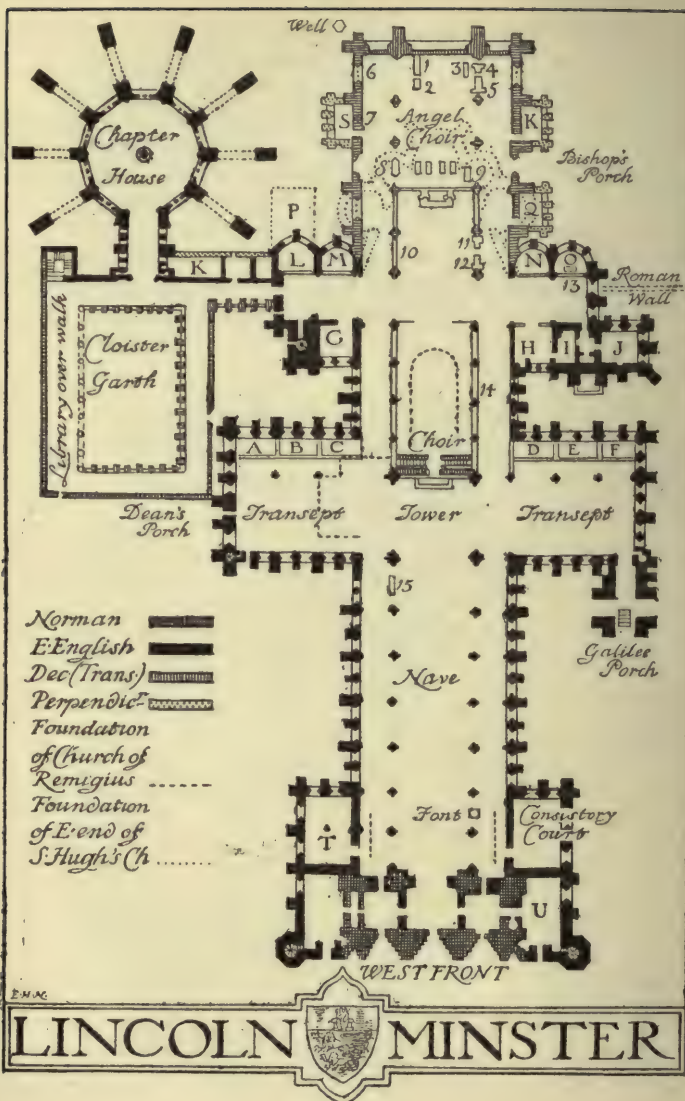


Lincoln held three times in the year—at the end of March, when the Lincolnshire Handicap commences the flat-racing season ; the middle of summer, and the middle of autumn ; the first being much the most important. The racecourse is on the Common known as the Carholme, or West Common. Lincoln is well situated for fox-hunting, as it is within easy reach, by train, of the Belvoir ; the Blankney Hunt (under the control of Mr. Edgar Lubbock) is only a few miles south ; and the Burton (under the command of Mr. T. Wilson), at Riseholme Hall, only two miles away on the north of the city.



ANGEL FROM ANGEL CHOIR





## REFERENCES TO PLAN

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| <p>A. Chapel of St. Nicholas.<br/>         B. „ St. Denis.<br/>         C. „ St. James.<br/>         D. Chapel of St. Edward the Martyr.<br/>         E. Chapel of St. John the Evangelist.<br/>         F. Chapel of St. Giles (or St. Thomas).<br/>         G. 'Dean's Chapel,' formerly Dispensary on first floor.<br/>         H. }<br/>         I. } Vestries.<br/>         J. }<br/>         K. Old Common Chamber.<br/>         L. St. John the Baptist's Chapel.<br/>         M. St. Hugh's Chapel.<br/>         N. St. Paul's Chapel.<br/>         O. St. Peter's Chapel.<br/>         P. Foundations of extended chapel.<br/>         Q. Bishop Longland's Chantry.<br/>         R. Bishop Russell's Chantry.<br/>         S. Bishop Fleming's Chantry.<br/>         T. Morning Chapel.<br/>         U. St. Hugh's or Ringer's Chapel.</p> | <p>1. Monument to Robert Burghersh.<br/>         2. Monument to Bishop Burghersh.<br/>         3. Monument to Queen Eleanor.<br/>         4. Monument to Sir N. Cantelupe.<br/>         5. Monument to Prior Wim-bische.<br/>         6. Monument to Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh.<br/>         7. Monument to Bishop Fleming.<br/>         8. Monument to Bishop Wordsworth.<br/>         9. Monument to Dean Butler.<br/>         10. Easter Sepulchre.<br/>         11. Monument to Countess of Westmorland.<br/>         12. Monument to Duchess of Lancaster.<br/>         13. Monument to Bishop Kaye.<br/>         14. Shrine of Little St. Hugh.<br/>         15. Tombstone of Bishop Remigius.</p> |
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## CHAPTER V

THE SEE AND CATHEDRAL OF LINCOLN: FROM THE  
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF ST. HUGH

‘They dreamt not of a perishable home  
Who thus could build.’ WORDSWORTH.



GALILEE PORCH

FROM the time of the Council of Arles in 314 to the year 1072, no bishop had his episcopal seat at Lincoln, and the episcopal jurisdiction under which it was placed varied according to the changing fortunes of war. The huge diocese which was known by the name of Lincoln a few years after the Norman Conquest, was due to an amalgamation of ‘two ancient English sees, both within the limits of the kingdom of Mercia, and its bishop

was the successor of two distinct episcopal lines, each dating from the seventh century.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Diocesan History*, p. 30.

In 664 St. Chad was consecrated Bishop of Mercia (including the county of Lincolnshire, or at all events the part inhabited by the Lindisfari—known now as Lindsey), and placed his bishop's stool at Lichfield.

About 678 Lindsey having been wrested from Mercia and put under Northumbrian rule, was made into a separate diocese by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury. Saxulf, the Mercian Bishop of Lichfield, retired, and Eadhed was consecrated at York Bishop of the Lindisfari, or 'Men of Lindsey,' in the above-mentioned year. However, the same year Lindsey was reunited to Mercia by Ethelred's victory over the Northumbrians, and Ethelwin (whose brother Aldaris was Abbot of Partney) succeeded to Eadhed's bishopric. He was consecrated in 680 and fixed his seat at 'Sydensis civitas'—Siddena ceaster, or Sidnacester. This has been identified with Stow (which, according to Camden, was considered to be the Mother Church of Lincoln), with Kirton in Lindsey, or with Gainsthorpe, a deserted Roman camp or town near Hibaldstow, between that village and Kirton, some twenty miles due north of Lincoln. According to the late Bishop Stubbs, the archdeaconry of Stow<sup>1</sup> (before recent alterations in its area and number of parishes), which was bounded by the Trent, Humber, Ancholme, and Fosdyke, probably represented the ancient diocese of Lindsey, and therefore Sidnacester must be sought for within those limits. But Bede speaks particularly of the 'province of Lindsey which is the first on the south side of the river Humber,' that it stretches as far out as the sea, which seems to bring it into much more likeness to the present division of the

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<sup>1</sup> It was not one of the seven founded by Remigius, but was made in Bishop Alexander's time, according to Browne Willis, probably in memory of the ancient bishopric.

Lincoln county called Lindsey. Now of this, Caistor on the Wolds is fairly in the centre. It was a strongly fortified Roman station; it was on an important Roman road; it has, at all events, part of the name of Sidnacester (which it would be surprising to find had altogether vanished), and it was—as we shall find—one of the earliest gifts of William the Conqueror to Lincoln Minster. So it quite probably represents the Bishop's See of the bishopric of Lindissi or Lindsey.

After seven more bishops the line of succession ceases for more than a century, Berhtred, who was consecrated in 838, being termed by William of Malmesbury '*ultimus episcopus Lindisfarorum seu Sidnacestreensis*.' No doubt the cause of this ominous gap was the increasing power and tyranny of the Danish invaders.

We do not hear again of bishops of Lindsey till 952, when 'Leofwin signed conciliar acts under that title, as he did also in 965. In 997 and 1004 Sigefurth did the same. But the title was simply a survival. All real episcopal power had ceased long before, and the very name was soon to pass away.

'There had been a Bishop's See at Leicester for nearly three centuries, ever since the partition by Archbishop Theodore of the wide Mercian diocese in 679.

'Coeval with Leicester, Lindsey was now to be merged into it. Florence of Worcester tells us that Leofwin united the two dioceses of Lindsey and Leicester into one, taking the oversight of both himself.' Very soon, however, after this union of dioceses, 'the growing pressure of the Danes behind him drove Leofwin to the old episcopal seat of Dorchester on Thames, where more than two centuries before Birinus, the apostle of Wessex, had set up his throne which was subsequently transferred to Winchester. A new

succession of bishops had arisen, unconnected with the original strain, or with allegiance to Mercia. The last of these had been Oskytel, who in 958 had been translated to York. Leofwin was his successor as head of the vast combined diocese, which comprised no less than ten of our present counties—those of Lincoln, Rutland, Northampton, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxford, Leicester, and Hertford. Bishop Eadnoth (1034-1050) is recorded as having rebuilt the noble church at Stow, which had been burnt in the ravages of the Danes in the tenth century. The last Bishop of Dorchester, previous to the Norman Conquest, was Wulfwy or Wulfwig (1053-1067), Chancellor to King Edward the Confessor, who, by the liberality of Earl Leofric and Godiva his countess, founded a college of priests at Stow. He survived the Conquest little more than a year, and was buried at Dorchester.

On the death of Bishop Wulfwy in 1067, Remigius, or Remi, *i.e.* of Rheims, was consecrated Bishop of Dorchester. He had accompanied the Conqueror to England, and is said to have contributed a ship and twenty armed men to the expedition. He was also the leader of the ten knights sent as a contingent of the abbey of Fecamp, of which he was a monk. He seems (on the authority of a leaden plate preserved in the Minster library) to have been connected through the family of D'Aincourt, or D'Eyncourt, with that of the Conqueror himself.

Henry of Huntingdon (who was an inhabitant of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Huntingdon and Hertford in the twelfth century, and who is buried in the Minster), gives the following account of Remigius and his change of see. 'The king' (William I.) 'had given to Remi, who was a monk of Fecamp, the Bishopric of Dorchester, which is situated on the

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Lincoln Thames. But as that see is larger than any other in England, extending from the Thames to the Humber, the Bishop thought it inconvenient that his Episcopal Seat should be in the extremity of his diocese. He was also displeased with the smallness of the town, since in the same diocese the most illustrious city of Lincoln appeared far more worthy to be the Seat of a Bishop. Having bought therefore certain lands on the summit of the Hill hard by the Castle, standing aloft with its strong towers, he built a Church, strong as the place was strong and fair as the place was fair, and dedicated it to the Virgin of Virgins: which should both be a joy to the servants of God, and as befitted the time, unconquerable by enemies.' This, of which the massive west front still remains, reminds the reader of Scott's lines on Durham Cathedral: 'Half Church of God, half Castle 'gainst the Scot.'

'The district of Lindsey in which it was placed had from ancient times been claimed as part of the Archbishopric of York, but Remi, disregarding the Archbishop's remonstrances, urged forward the work he had undertaken, and when it was completed he supplied it with Clerks of approved learning and morals.'

'Remi was small in stature but great in heart. His complexion was dark, but his conduct was clear. He was indeed on one occasion accused of treason against the king, but one of his followers cleared him of the charge by the ordeal of red-hot iron, and thus restored him to Royal favour unsullied by any stain of disgrace.'

'By this founder, at this time, and for these reasons, the modern Cathedral of the Diocese of Lincoln was begun.'

Remigius signed himself 'Episcopus Dorcacensis'

at the Council of Windsor in 1072, and 'Episcopus Lincolniensis' at the Council of London in 1075, so the transference of the see must have taken place between these two dates.

Also, in the charter of King William the Conqueror to Remigius we find from the mention of Pope Alexander the Second (who died in 1073), and of his legates who were here in England in 1070 at the deposition of Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, that the change of see must have been about the year 1073. The charter runs as follows: 'Know ye, that I have translated the see of the bishopric of Dorchester to the City of Lincoln, with the authority and advice of Pope Alexander and his legates, also of L. (Lanfranc) the Archbishop and of the other bishops of my kingdom: and in that place I have given sufficiently of land free and quiet from all dues to build the mother church of the whole diocese and her necessary buildings adjacent.' The king further granted, besides other churches in the diocese, two churches in Lincoln itself—those of St. Martin and St. Lawrence—and a pastoral staff. Remigius is supposed also, as stated in the extract from Henry of Huntingdon, to have bought land, perhaps in addition to that granted by the king.

King William the Second in confirming his father's charter called Dorchester, the site of the old see, 'sedes incompetenter ac satis obscure in Dorchacastra antiquitus posita fuerat,' and after providing for houses for the clergy and a cemetery, he conferred 'terram in supra dictae urbis sinu quietam et ab omni garrulitate cujuslibet strepitu liberam.' The land so obtained by Remigius was about the south-east quarter of the first Roman city, and in erecting his cathedral the little Saxon church of St. Mary Magdalen was destroyed. A Saxon headstone (which

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Lincoln was found in the floor of the Morning Chapel), and a stone coffin-lid with a rude cross and interlaced work (somewhat similar but much poorer and coarser than the slabs in the north transept at Peterborough), both now in the Cloisters, probably belong to the earlier church and are monuments of some of its worshippers.

At the first-mentioned Council, that of Windsor, the dispute between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York as to their respective jurisdiction over the dioceses of Worcester, Lichfield, and Dorchester (which had all been claimed by Thomas of York), was settled in favour of the southern Metropolitan. Archbishop Thomas, however, laid a further claim fifteen years later, not to the whole diocese but to that which had formed the old diocese of Lindsey, with the towns of Lincoln, Louth, Stow, and Newark. A sufficient contribution to the funds of King William the Second's Exchequer procured his decision in favour of Remigius.

The church which he built was cruciform in plan, a central tower and two western ones, with a nave of ten bays and side aisles; transepts, north and south, about one-third of the length of the present great ones, and about two-thirds in width, with a shoulder-step at the eastern corners, the eastern third of their width forming probably a series of chapels without any apses.

It was about 300 feet long, and in breadth in the nave about 28 feet (10 feet narrower than the Early English nave), and 60 feet high up to the ceiling, which almost certainly was a flat one of painted boards such as that which Peterborough nave had originally, and the transepts there still possess. According to the late Clerk of the Works, Mr. J. J. Smith (who had devoted much close study and many years to the subject), there was no clerestory over

the choir and eastern apse westwards of the line of chapels, as it terminated with the line of transept, forming in plan a cross. But I know of no authority for this suggestion.

Of this church there still, happily, remain the following portions: the foundations of the choir and apse, beneath the choir stalls, and a centre taken where the litany desk stands by the stone inscribed 'Cantate hic,' with a radius to the choir side-screen wall, would give in the eastern half-circle practically the Norman apse. It has traces of outside buttresses, and the side walls, near their junction with the crossing, show a large mass of masonry intended to support the pillars on each side of the chancel arch. The foundations of the north transept have been found, and of the north and south walls of the nave, in the latter cases about six feet to the inner side of the Morning Chapel and of the Consistory Court.

The first bay of the Norman nave also exists, though in a much altered state. The clerestory retains its shafts, which have been fitted with new capitals to take the vaulting shafts of the Early English groining. Each bay has also a large single Norman round-headed window, the inner arch of which has its edge relieved by a continuous roll-moulding and by the interposition of a fluted cushion-capital: this is converted in its lower portion into a shaft. A wall passage pierces the jamb of the window, a smaller window is in the outer wall. The wall above is adorned with the diaper-work which is always considered to be characteristic of Grosseteste's work. Below the clerestory the round arch of the Norman triforium can be distinctly seen in each bay: though blocked up, firstly, by a pointed arch due to Treasurer Welbourn's work in the end of the fourteenth century, and again, com-

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Lincoln      pletely in the eighteenth century, together with all the arches supporting the two western towers. The character of the arcade below is consequently entirely lost, possibly it had sturdy cylindrical pillars (as has been drawn by Mr. J. J. Smith) and plain arches. The proportions of arcade, triforium, and clerestory (as is commonly found in the eastern group of Norman churches) is fairly equal. This one bay of Remigius's nave owes its preservation, no doubt, to its position between the two western towers which are of his building as far as the level of the Norman roof, beyond which they had not been extended. In front of these towers and on the north and south sides of them (forming, as Precentor Venables says, 'a kind of shallow western transept') is a massive and strong screen wall, also due to Remigius. Its western front is about 110 feet wide and over 60 feet high.

Three deep and lofty arched recesses pierce the screen wall. Of these the middle one is the largest and tallest (it has been raised in Grosseteste's time and had a pointed arch added), corresponding roughly to the height of the nave and aisles. The two side recesses have kept their circular-headed arches, of four orders and of great severity of treatment. Between the second and third order there is a deep groove recalling the 'portcullis opening in a castle gateway.' These are in length of the full width of the arch and about one foot wide, and are carried up to the floor of the gallery above where they are covered with removable flagstones, so forming a kind of machicolation through which 'boiling oil, lead, or something humorous,' might be precipitated on to the heads of any obnoxious persons below. In the southern wall of the building is a similar arched recess, containing a large round-headed window; probably a window of the same kind existed in the

two side recesses on the western front, while the middle one may have had two, side by side (with a circular window over, as suggested by Mr. Smith). In the southern recess, below and to the west of the window, is a blocked-up doorway, which led to the very fine circular newel staircase in the south-west angle, from which a passage led across the whole Norman west front until the changes in Grosseteste's time: now the path is across below and inside the great rose window, which gives a splendid view of the whole interior of the church, and is known by the name of Sir Joseph Banks. This recess is partially blocked up by a much later newel staircase. There is no corresponding arched recess on the north wall: where it should have been is a large, low, Norman arch of two tiers of voussoirs, springing from the ground direct, and bridging over some Roman foundations. But a smaller lateral recess semi-circular in plan, with moulded arches, and a rude scollop externally, with capitals relieved by spreading foliage (in some cases of later date), occurs here, as in the south wall, and twice in the west front. A large crack will be noticed leading from the window above (where it lights a room at present inaccessible save by a ladder, possibly the treasury of the Minster) to the small recess. This in all likelihood is a trace of the celebrated earthquake which, as we shall see presently, wrought such havoc, in another hundred years' time, to the church of Remigius as to call for its rebuilding. All through this work of his, as Precentor Venables remarks, 'It is characterised by gigantic massiveness of construction, and a severe abnegation of ornament. The lines are hard and precise; the sharp edges of the arches unrelieved by any moulding or even chamfer; the capitals mere blocks, swelling at the angles into rude reminiscences of the Corinthian

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Lincoln volutes, with a square projection representing the rosette; the bases a simple quirk, with a quarter round. The masonry is wide jointed, and the stones are small and generally square. Nothing relieves the austere plainness of the design but cylindrical shafts at the angles supporting the arched recesses.'

It can easily be imagined how useful such a building would be to King Stephen in his contests in the city, against whom indeed the charge was made that he 'fortified the Church of God.'

Giraldus tells us that Remigius built and completed his work 'after the manner of the church of Rouen, which he had set before him as his pattern in all things.' This church of Rouen was destroyed by fire in 1200, and the ecclesiastical establishment of Remigius, according to the late Henry Bradshaw, derived its essential features from Bayeux, through Rouen. He founded twenty-one prebendal stalls for twenty-one canons, including the bishop, dean, precentor, chancellor, and treasurer.

So that Lincoln is one of the cathedrals 'of the old foundation,' *i.e.* built for a cathedral, and not as several were, converted monastic houses, in King Henry VIII.'s time. The ritual choir would probably stretch over one or two bays west of the transeptal crossing. The most original portion of Remigius's building was the great western screen, with its three cavernous recesses (probably surmounted by gables, as they were undoubtedly in Bishop Alexander's time), and two western towers. In this composition may be traced the germ and idea of the beautiful west front and three porches of Peterborough Cathedral. The three gables gave rise probably to the three at the east end of the Minster (where the two side ones are merely walls with no roof behind), the

three over the entrance to the chapter-house, and over the dean's door.

The date of consecration of the completed work was fixed for May 8, 1092, but—an instance of the vanity of human wishes—Remigius died four days before that ceremony (which was postponed), and was buried in front of the altar of the Holy Cross. This generally is in connection with the screen on which stood the Rood at the western end of the ritual choir, and we know that after the fire in Bishop Alexander's time, in which the burning beams from the roof fell on to Remigius's tombstone and fractured it 'in the middle, splitting it into twin portions,' the canons removed the body to a more retired spot on the north side of the altar. A sepulchral slab fractured in a similar manner to that described by Giraldus, was found in the cloisters, and has been re-laid under the easternmost arch of the north aisle of the nave, very near, we may well believe, to the last resting-place of the body of the founder of the church—Remigius. It is undoubtedly of Norman design, and of great richness of execution; it has a kind of sculptured tree, enclosing three oval spaces, of which the upper contains Our Lord in Glory, with above on each side an angel, and below Moses (with horns and the fiery serpent) and Elias. The middle compartment holds a seated figure between two beasts (Solomon?) with two angels below, and the third one has David and his harp.

The cathedral, thus built by Remigius, was consecrated by his successor, Robert Bloet (1094-1123), the chancellor of King William II.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says: 'This year (1093) King William was very sick at Gloucester, insomuch that he was universally reported to be dead: and he made many good promises in his illness:

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*from*  
*Bunker's Hill*

that he would lead his future life in righteousness: that the churches of God he would guard and free and never more sell them for money—and that he would have all just laws in his kingdom. And he gave . . . the Bishopric of Lincoln to his Chancellor Robert. But afterwards he took back lands he had given, and neglected the good laws . . .’

No work in the cathedral has been attributed to this bishop or dated during his episcopate, though he founded and endowed twenty-one prebendal stalls,

in addition to the same number already provided by Remigius, and the circumstances of his death in the king's arms have been related in a former chapter. Bishop Alexander (1123-1148), sometimes called 'The Magnificent,' who followed, was a nephew of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and like his uncle a great builder; three castles—Sleaford, Newark, and Banbury, and four monasteries—Haverholme, Thame, Dorchester, and Sempringham, owing their erection to him. He was also the founder of the Archdeaconry of Stow, making the eighth in the diocese, 1130 being the date of the first-known holder of the office. He is supposed to have inserted the three western doorways of the cathedral, which are grand specimens of late Norman decorative work, of the sumptuous and satisfactory character which so often attends this style. The central doorway has a weather-moulding enriched with incised patterns, and ending in grotesque heads and prolonged beaks. The wall around the ends is covered with involuted knot and strap work. A very fine and bold embattled moulding comes next, and is continued—with a break due to the abacus—to the base on each side of the doorway. A good roll-moulding follows, a double row of zig-zag, another roll-moulding with a deep and effective cavetto, a kind of nail-head moulding, a beak-head moulding with grotesque faces; this with the innermost of all—a double zig-zag—is (like the first mentioned, and like it interrupted by the abacus) carried down to the ground on each side of the doorway. The square abacus, ornamented with incised designs, is carried right through. The capitals are of the cushion kind, and are fluted. There are four angle-nook pillars on each side of the doorway—the outer one being octagonal, with shallow inlaid cross pattern; the next round, with somewhat similar

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Lincoln ornament; the third round with medallions, and the innermost exhibiting excellent interlaced work which has a great resemblance to Scandinavian art in wood. The northern doorway has the weather-moulding ending in grotesque masks, and an under edge of an almost dog-tooth character. A rich double or treble zig-zag comes outermost, then a deep cavetto, with nail-head decoration, a plain roll-moulding, a beak-head; and the innermost, a treble zig-zag (with round balls in the hollows), is carried through to the base. The Corinthianesque capitals are of very distinctly Byzantine character; the pillars, of which there are three on each side, exhibit similar work to the outer two of the central doorway, but the middle one has spiral work. The southern doorway has a cable-moulding for its dripstone, and is very similar to the northern doorway, save that it has fluted cushion capitals of almost transitional character.

The west doorway at Stow is also attributed to Bishop Alexander, and is of very similar character and design.

Bishop Alexander also carried up the western towers, adding about a third to their height, in three tiers of arcades, which are charmingly varied: the middle one having three large arched openings in the northern tower, and more numerous shallower and smaller interlaced ones in the southern. The staircase turrets, on the north of the north tower and the south of the southern one, are multangular, and have vertical ribs at the angles; the turrets on the south of the north tower and on the north of the south one have fewer ribs, and the eastern angles of these towers are quite plain and square and like buttresses.

North and south of the towers will be seen an interesting and highly effective gable, the upper ter-

mination of the north and south flanking walls already described. The arcades with interlacing arches, and the filling in of the gable head with a kind of trellis-work (which may have suggested the lattice-work ornamentation of Bishop Grosseteste's) is exceedingly good. An admirable little gablet (of Decorated date, and almost flamboyant in style) now joins these gables westwards to the great screen wall over the continuation westwards of the two rows of arcading (the simple round-headed arches and the interlaced ones) to join the west front. It is believed—judging from weather-mouldings in the wall behind the Early English screen—that similar Norman gables existed over the two western lateral recesses, and a third probably higher over the great central recess. The rows of arcading, of the same kind as in the gables, in the west front are also due to Bishop Alexander.

Giraldus speaks of an accidental fire which consumed the cathedral church, and, as has been mentioned, the falling beams broke Remigius's tombstone in half, and afterwards his body was removed to the north side of the altar before which he had been originally buried. He dates this by saying: 'The exhumed body when it had lain for thirty-two years in the earth, was found to be as fresh as when it was laid there.' This would make the date of the fire to be 1124; and according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* on May 19, 1123, about two months before Bishop Alexander came, 'nearly the whole town of Lincoln was burnt with a great number of persons, both men and women.' But it does not mention any express damage to the cathedral. In 1141 a great fire is related to have occurred in the church which destroyed the wooden ceilings. These were perhaps finally replaced, as far as the nave and transepts (the aisles

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Lincoln had lean-to wooden roofs), by Bishop Alexander, by stone vaulting, probably of the groined vault kind, with cross-bars or ribs from pillar to pillar on each side, which, according to Mr. Smith's hypothetical reconstruction, were stopped at a level a little below the floor of the triforium. This seems a very early date for such stopping, and much more probably the shafts went down to the ground.

'In the tenth year of King Stephen,' says Henry of Huntingdon, 'Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, went to Rome, where he exhibited the same magnificence which he had done before. He was, therefore, honourably entertained by Pope Eugenius, who was recently elevated to his high dignity. The bishop's disposition was at all times courteous, his discretion always just, his countenance good-humoured and cheerful. On his return the following year, in high favour with the Pope and his whole court, he was received by his people with great reverence and joy. His church at Lincoln, which had been disfigured by a fire, he restored in so exquisite a style of architecture that it appeared more beautiful than when it was first built, and was surpassed by none in all England.'

In this Norman portion of the west front, just above each north and south smaller recess and on the sides of the larger ones, will be noticed a remarkable band of sculpture. This originally, no doubt, extended right across the front, at the same level, but it has been interrupted, in the two larger lateral recesses, by the interposition of large Perpendicular windows, and in the central recess by the row of kings, which have also so cruelly cut into the mouldings of the central doorway. Traces of destroyed sculpture in this line will be noticed later in the detailed description. These sculptures have been

assigned to a Saxon date, but they present no features common to a Saxon work. They are in all probability of twelfth-century date, and vary in age and excellence, which may be accounted for by the fact that they are in no sort of order (as will be seen presently, Daniel in the Lions' Den has been thrust in between the Building and the Sailing of the Ark). They are very dark in colour when contrasted with the other stonework around, but one which is under cover in the south (or St. Hugh's Chapel) is exactly of the same colour and working as the Norman wide-jointed masonry in which it is set, and it is likely that these sculptures have escaped a scraping process to which the rest of the stonework has been exposed. Traces of colour still remain on one or two of the subjects. These may now be described briefly, passing from north to south. Over the north small recess is a mass of writhing figures, involved with and bitten and tormented by snakes and demons, the three figures on the right being modern reproductions. There is an evident Scandinavian tendency in this almost interwoven sculpturing. A hideous head, with gaping mouth full of little figures, is probably the mouth of Hell, from which Our Saviour accompanied by St. Michael is delivering them, trampling on Satan, who lies bound and fettered at full length under His feet. On the left hand side and north face of this same recess is a much mutilated carving, probably representing Our Lord holding a sheet with small figures within (the usual fashion of representing souls), the guardian of faithful souls: at each corner has been a symbol of one of the four Evangelists—the eagle of St. John, the angel of St. Matthew, and the head and wing of the lion of St. Mark can be still discerned. The background has been painted red. Further on in this recess is a

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Lincoln fine group of saints, priests, prophets, and kings holding communion together. Unfortunately they have suffered much mutilation, but the drapery is well preserved and interesting, though rather flat and still. On the right hand side of the south face of the greater northern recess is Our Lord sitting at table with the two disciples at Emmaus; the design, workmanship, and dramatic posing of the figures being good, and the table, the canopy, columns, roof, and turrets noteworthy. The hair of all three was coloured red, and the inside of Our Lord's mantle a bluish green. Divided by a pillar from the last, comes a subject in two powerfully contrasted parts; above angels are cherishing the soul of the righteous dead, while below a demon is pitchforking three luckless condemned persons into Hell, represented by a long lower jaw with many teeth. This is obviously carved in the stone of the wall, and so probably is contemporary or nearly so with the work of Remigius.

On the wall between this recess and the central one, just above the circular-headed niche, is a small portion of sculptured drapery, and on the south face of the central recess a weather-moulding is left to show trace of where a sculpture has been.

On the opposite side of this recess is the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The composition is good, and the angel with drawn sword in his right hand, while with his left he pushes them shrinkingly and reluctantly forth, is dignified: the execution of the sculpture, indeed, is almost childish, which may be due, as Mr. Prior suggests, to the new difficulty of dealing with the nude. Between the great central recess and the southern one, on the wall above the round-headed niche, which, with its fellow on the north, contains a figure now adorned with a

mitre, are two figures, one labouring with a hatchet, the other with a spade, indicating Man's Curse of Labour. On the right hand corner may be seen a hand grasping a bag, presumably of money: the reward of honest work. Some attempt at foliage will be observed between the feet of the figures, and a honeysuckle cornice above their heads is very similar to that on a panel at Chichester Cathedral—the meeting of Our Lord with Mary and Martha—which Mr. Prior regards as certainly Saxon work of the tenth century, or early eleventh. This particular design, however, seems certainly Norman in date.

On the left hand side (or north face) of the great south recess are two scenes again, one over the other, and having a cornice of the same honeysuckle character, with a piece of foliation running down from it, to fill up a gap in the composition. The upper one is of a woman giving suck to a child, most probably Hannah and the infant Samuel; while the lower one, which has been much destroyed, may serve for Samuel announcing God's message to Eli. On the right hand (or south face) of this recess is a weather-moulding, showing trace of where a sculpture has been, and divided from this by a pillar come a group of two figures, one being evidently Our Lord instructing a disciple, who, not unlikely, is meant for Nicodemus.

Over the smaller southern recess, the band of carving represents first, Noah, who rests an axe on his left shoulder, and who is instructing a smaller figure (with a hatchet in his right hand), probably one of his sons, in the building of the Ark, which has the high curved prow of the period. Next, obviously introduced out of its natural place, is a panel, framed all round by the same weather-moulding, of Daniel in the Den of Lions, whose manes remind one of the

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Lincoln treatment of similar beasts at Nineveh as figured by Layard. Then comes the Ark itself, having a kind of penthouse roof of tiles or shingles; at the top left hand corner is the Dove, five figures are inside the Ark, and a hurried scramble of animals into the Ark is proceeding at the lower left hand corner. A group of eight persons commemorates the safe deliverance from the perils of the Flood, then comes probably God instructing Noah and giving him the rainbow for a sign. Immediately round the corner of the Norman west front, inside the thirteenth-century chapel known as St. Hugh's, is the Deluge itself—on the left the bow of the Ark, and a figure swimming, and three figures trying to raise themselves above the flood, by grasping either rocks or parts of trees. Messrs. Prior and Gardner say: 'It is interesting to find here (at Lincoln) a school of sculpture which has attained considerable degree of excellence, and which seems to show some connection with works of the twelfth century in other districts. We can realise how, in a city like Lincoln, such a school originated in a fusion of the goldsmiths' art with the stone-cutters', so that while it preserved many of the best qualities of Saxon art, it immediately, on the birth of architectural skill, attained a vigour and boldness that made more promise than the languid if elegant productions of the earlier Winchester artist.'<sup>1</sup>

The fine square font, also of twelfth-century date, stands in the second south bay of the nave arcade. The massive bowl is supported on a thick central pillar, with slighter ones standing free at the four corners, their capitals and bases being widely splayed out. Around the sides of the bowl are winged beasts of various kinds. There is a circular

<sup>1</sup> *Architectural Review*, vol. xii. pp. 147-150.

band around the opening at the top, with rosettes on it, and the spandrels are filled in by an arrangement of leaves tied up into a sheaf-like form.

Its material is a hard blue-black marble, obtained from Tournai in Hainault. From the same source, doubtless, came the very similar font at Thornton Curtis in the north of the county, and those at St. Peter's, Norwich, St. Michael's, and St. Mary Bourne, Southampton, East Meon, Hampshire, and Winchester Cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

Alexander was buried in his cathedral, and succeeded by Robert Chesney (1148-1167) (*de Querceto*, or 'of the Oak Copse'), Archdeacon of Leicester, and an Englishman. He is not known to have made any additions or alterations to the cathedral, but he began to build the Bishop's Palace, and for that purpose pledged the ornaments of the church to Aaron the Jew for £300.

The see remained vacant after his death for nearly seven years, till in 1173 King Henry I. appointed his natural son (far more *natural* in his conduct to his father than his half-brothers) Geoffrey Plantagenet, who was only in deacon's orders, and had a special dispensation from the Pope Alexander III. as he was under age. He redeemed the ornaments of the church from Aaron, and by his own gifts he very largely added to the ecclesiastical furnishing of his church. Among other things, Giraldus tells us, he gave two large, beautiful, and finely sounding bells. He was never consecrated, and resigned the see in 1183: he was afterwards made Archbishop of York in 1191.

For one year (1183-1184) Walter de Constantiis (a native of Cornwall), Archdeacon of Oxford, held

<sup>1</sup> 'The Font at Zedelghem, near Bruges in Belgium,' by J. Romilly Allen, *The Reliquary*, vol. iv. No. 4, Oct. 1898.

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Lincoln the see until he was translated to Rouen. For the following two years it was again vacant. In the year 1185, on the 15th of April, according to Hovenden, 'a great earthquake was heard almost throughout the whole of England, such as has not been heard in that land from the beginning of the world. Rocks were split, stone-built houses fell into ruin, and the metropolitan church of Lincoln was torn virtually asunder from top to bottom.'

In 1186 Hugh of Avallon (or of Burgundy) was made Bishop of Lincoln by King Henry II.

Hugh was born about the year 1140 of a knightly family at Avallon, some three miles away from Grenoble. His mother dying while he was quite a boy, he and his father entered a priory of Regular Canons. Thence he went to the Grande Chartreuse, where he stayed for ten years, attaining the position of Procurator, second only in rank to the Prior himself. But King Henry II., who was busy in founding a Carthusian monastery at Witham in Somerset, brought him away to be Prior there, where he was for another ten years, winning great commendation from all people, and becoming an especial favourite of the king.

The lives of St. Hugh tell us much of his dealings with King Henry II., King Richard I., and King John. John Ruskin, speaking of the Grande Chartreuse, says that the Carthusians 'in their strength from the foundation of the Order, at the close of the eleventh century, to the beginning of the fourteenth, reared in their mountain fastnesses, and sent out to minister to the world, a succession of men of immense mental grasp, and severely authoritative innocence: among whom our own Hugo of Lincoln, in his relations with Henry I.' (II.) 'and Cœur de Lion, is to my mind the most beautiful sacerdotal figure known to

me in history. The great Pontiffs have a power which, in its strength, can scarcely be used without cruelty, nor in its scope without error: the great Saints are always in some degree incredible or unintelligible: but Hugo's power is in his own personal courage and justice only: and his sanctity is as clear, frank, and playful as the waves of his own Chartreuse well.<sup>1</sup>

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One example of St. Hugh's dealing with kings must suffice. Having excommunicated the chief forester of King Henry II., he was summoned by the king to meet him at Woodstock. There coming, he found the king and his court sitting in a glade of the forest, and according to instructions no one spoke to the bishop. The latter sat down next to the king, who began stitching up a little bandage for the fingers of his left hand, which he had injured. The bishop then said, 'How like you now are to your relations at Falaise.' This convulsed the king with laughter, and he explained to the wondering courtiers that his great-great-grandfather came from a glover's family in that town. Then the bishop expostulated with the king on the question of the chief forester, and on another dispute about a prebendal stall, pointing out that the king had done much to make him a bishop, and that in that office he must do his duty. The king's wrath was appeased, and he left the bishop to act in both cases as seemed him right.

King Richard and King John also were treated by the bishop with the same firmness, tact, and fairness, and in all his dealings with them and their authorities he showed the greatest courage, tempered with judgment and knowledge of human character, and illuminated by the saving grace of humour.

<sup>1</sup> *Præterita*, vol. iii. chap. i., 'The Grande Chartreuse,' pp. 19-20.



Under his rule the Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral attained more than a local reputation for learning and piety. William de Monte (or of Leicester) who was chancellor in St. Hugh's later days, the office including the superintendence of ecclesiastical learning (as it does at the present day), was at the head of a school which attracted Giraldus Cambrensis (from whom many quotations have been and will be made) as the next best to that of Paris. Walter Mapes (or Map) was Precentor and Archdeacon of Oxford in 1196, and was well known as a man of wit and learning (a song of rather Bacchanalian tendency, which has been attributed to him, reflects possibly the earlier part of his life).

Of St. Hugh's devotion to the interests of the Church ; of his love for little children, his kindness to the poor, outcasts, and lepers ; of his swan at Stow than whom no dog was ever more affectionately faithful ; of the miracles which he wrought, and which occurred after his death at his tomb, there is not enough room here to speak.

It is rather singular, in the matter of names, that Hugh of Avallon should come to the neighbourhood of Glastonbury, the Isle of Avalon or Avalion, and from Witham in Somerset should go to the city on the Witham—Lincoln. Of the Carthusian house at Witham only the church of the lay brethren, the Fraternity (hence the term Witham *Friary*), a Romanesque building now the parish church, is left, and a large dovecot, which has become a parish room.

In 1186 Hugh was made Bishop of Lincoln, and seems soon to have set about rebuilding his cathedral church, whether from absolute necessity owing to the great ruin caused by the earthquake the year before, or gradually pulling down the Norman nave and transepts, tower, and east end from a wish to change

to the new style of Pointed Gothic. According to John de Schalby, Hugh 'rebuilt the fabric of his church from the foundations, and he also commenced to build the fine hall of the Bishop's Palace.' The first stone was laid, as chronicled in the Irish *Annals of Multifernan*, in 1192, and before his death in 1200 (November 16), the existing ritual choir of four bays, the eastern transepts (a feature which was imitated from Cluny), with eastern chapels, and the polygonal eastern apse, were complete; and the plan made and probably the foundations laid, and part was built, of the great western transepts. It is also possible that a central tower was built; at all events that which fell in Bishop Grosseteste's time, called 'nova turris,' must have been erected (if not by him) immediately after his time. But if the tower had been built by Hugh, a considerable part of the nave must also have been built to support it and take the thrust westwards; but no trace of this remains, as the nave is all, speaking generally, of one style, and practically was erected all at the same time. Also, no mention is made of any central tower in the various lives of St. Hugh, more especially in the metrical *Life*, which goes very fully into detail.

This work, whose date is thus certainly known, is consequently of the greatest possible interest to all students of English Gothic architecture. For it is one of the earliest dated examples in the country of Early English or Pointed Gothic. And, curiously enough, though Hugh himself was a Burgundian, though his architect, Geoffrey of Noiers, bears a French name (there were Nowers in Lincolnshire, however, at that time), there is little or no French influence manifested in it, but a great difference between it and contemporary work at Grenoble (close to Hugh's birthplace) or elsewhere in France. The

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testimony of Viollet-le-Duc is sufficient on the point : ‘ After the most careful examination, I could not find on any part of the cathedral of Lincoln, neither in the general design nor in any part of the system of architecture adopted, nor in any details of ornament, any trace of the French school of the twelfth century (the lay school from 1170 to 1220) so plainly characteristic of the cathedrals of Paris, Noyon, Seules, Chartres, Sens, and even Rouen. . . . Nowhere in France do we find, between 1190 and 1200, pillars similar to those at Lincoln, with the crockets placed between the shafts : nowhere in France do we find crockets carved like these : nowhere shafts with hexagonal concave section : nowhere capitals or abacus similar to those of these pillars.’<sup>1</sup>

It has also been gravely questioned whether Hugh’s work is really and essentially *not* Gothic but altered Romanesque. But if we consider for a moment the

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman’s Magazine*, May 29, 1861.

high-pitched roof, the pointed vaulting, the large buttresses supporting the aisle walls, the flying buttresses to the clerestory taking the thrust of the vaulting, the use of pillar and piers instead of wall, it is perfectly obvious that, in all essentials of true Gothic, the idea of a building soaring upwards, bearing and restraining its various thrusts and pressures, is answered by this most early work of Early English Gothic; and it is really a great source of wonder that the escape from Romanesque was so complete in the closing years of the thirteenth century.

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The choir (or the portion of it due to St. Hugh) is composed of five bays, the easternmost being the crossing of the eastern transept. The westernmost is the narrowest, and has been partially rebuilt after the damage it sustained by the fall of the central tower in Bishop Grosseteste's time. The mouldings of the arch on both the north and south side are not continuous, and their want of union is adroitly veiled by a little cable-moulding. These arches also are the only ones furnished with hood-moulds, which are stopped prematurely and end in corbels. All the arches have numerous and fine mouldings, and the three eastern ones rather approximate to a semi-circular form. Originally the piers were composed of an octagonal stone central pillar surrounded by detached shafts of Purbeck marble, but owing to the fall of the tower it was evidently considered needful to strengthen them. So that on the south side the first pier from the west has had stone columns devoid of capitals added on the east and west sides; the second two also, on the west and south sides; while the easternmost remains probably pretty much in its original condition. On the north side of the choir, the easternmost is little altered; the second



Lincoln westwards has six large half-columns, and the westernmost five of the same kind, without any capitals but with stilted Perpendicular bases. The pier at the junction of the north choir aisle and the great north transept has been strengthened in the same way by five plain, semicylindrical columns without capitals. The capitals have stiff foliage, of the tied-up bunch kind, and the arrangement (as has been pointed out)<sup>1</sup> gives a decidedly Corinthianesque and classical effect, with Early English ornament. A Purbeck marble bracket on the north-west side of the third pier from the west on the north side of the choir deserves notice.

The western bay of the triforium has been practically rebuilt (owing, doubtless, to the fall of the central tower) in a later style than the rest of the choir. It is composed, on both the north and south side, of two pairs of acutely pointed lancets under two large but still sharp arches, of which each tympanum is pierced by a quatrefoil opening. The mouldings and interspaces between the outside pillars are profusely adorned with dog-tooth. Exactly similar work will be found in the south bay of the south-east transept, and much the same in the first stage of the lantern of the central tower. For the sake of strength, in all likelihood, the place of the central pillar between each lancet is taken by a plain clustered mass of columns, devoid of capitals and bases, too large to fit the position, and much resembling the sweetmeat known as Bath brick.

The two middle bays have pairs of double, pointed arches in two planes, the smaller one, and of differing curvature, set back behind the larger, and circumscribed by a large arch, thus giving great depth to the opening in the wall, and increasing the number

<sup>1</sup> Murray's *Handbook to Eastern Cathedrals*, 1881, p. 357.

of pillars at each side to a considerable extent. The tympanum of each circumscribing arch is pierced with a varying series of figures : on the north side one is a quatrefoil set lozenge fashion, the next is a trefoil, then comes a quatrefoil freely opened out. On the south side, these openings are of a still more curious character, looking as though they had been made the subject of experiment. As very early stages in the history of plate tracery, they deserve attention which certainly would not be paid to their artistic merits. One is a cusped quatrefoil inscribed in a sunk lozenge, another a much too large trefoil, while the tympanum to the extreme east contains a trefoil opening set irregularly and out of the middle line, like a quatrefoil of which the eastern lobe was not cut out.

The eastern bay (*i.e.* just in front of the transept opening) is simpler in character ; only one pillar separates the smaller lancets or sub-arches instead of three, and these lancets are single instead of double. The same arrangement will be noticed in the north-eastern transept and in one bay of the south-eastern.

The clerestory has a group of three lancets in each bay, the central one being much taller and broader. The inner wall is carried on banded shafts, with trefoiled openings between the heads of the windows, and dainty little lancets on each side not piercing the outer wall, but complete with side-shafts, capitals, and bases.

In the western bay there are only two lancets on each side.

The glass is modern and greatly improved since the grisaille has replaced the rather dark background. The figures stand out well and are skilfully executed. The vaulting of this western bay is sexpartite (having been reconstructed later), with two lateral vaulting cells corresponding to the pair of lancets above

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Lincoln mentioned. The vaulting of the other four bays exhibits a striking and disagreeable peculiarity, as Sir Gilbert Scott describes it: 'Each cell strikes obliquely to points dividing the central ridge of the bay into three equal parts, so that neither the cells nor the diagonal ribs from either side ever meet one another, but each cell is met by an intermediate or an oblique transverse rib from the opposite side.'

The vaulting starts from a few feet below the sill of the clerestory, whence a shaft is carried down in front of the piers of the arcade to the floor. When the high tabernacle work of the choir stalls was put in, these shafts were cut off a little below the triforium level and finished with panelled and embattled corbels of Perpendicular date. The shafts are alternately round and hexagonal semi-concave (first and third), a curious form much used in this date of Gothic and in this building.

The South Choir aisle between the two transepts has, in the first bay from the west on the north side, a pointed arch similar to those further eastwards, with a small square grated window giving light to a chamber in the thickness of the pulpitum or screen now supporting the organ. There is also a doorway a few feet from the ground, the entrance to a staircase lit by a quatrefoil opening, for the use of the Constable of the Close. The second bay is occupied by an arcade of sharply pointed arches, round which between the pillars is much dog-tooth work, and the capitals exhibit fine free foliage. The third bay has had inserted later work, of Decorated date, the shrine of Little St. Hugh, whose story has been already narrated. This has five bays or panels of geometrical tracery, profusely ornamented with ball-flower, and with triangular heads, of which both finials and crockets are lavishly wrought with leafage.

The capitals are curved in imitation of real leaves, such as those of the vine and others. Traces of colour, blue on the ground of the capitals and elsewhere red in the cavettos, still exist, the prominent parts, capitals, etc., were probably gilt. A boss and part of the vaulting has been placed on the little tomb. Beneath it, in 1790, a stone coffin was found containing the complete skeleton of a boy 3 feet 3 inches in length.

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The fourth bay is of very considerably later date. The foliage of the capitals is of an imitative character (acorns and leaves will easily be recognised in one), and the bosses are deeply undercut and contain birds or animals. A very similar piece of arcading will be found in the corresponding bay in the North Choir aisle.

The south side or outer wall of this part of the aisle has an interesting double arcade, of richly moulded trefoil-headed arches in front, and plain pointed arches behind, the external moulding being the familiar dog-tooth. The capitals have the conventional foliage, with a tendency to group the leaves more at the top of the capital. In the lower part of the spandril, between each trefoil arch, is a curious pointed kind of 'pigeon-hole,' as the late Precentor Venables calls it, containing a bust of an angel or saint, and one female figure, possibly St. Mary Magdalene, is holding a box of spikenard (?). This arcade, wherever it is found in the cathedral, is generally considered to be typical of St. Hugh's work, and it is noticeable that these figures of angels almost certainly suggested the full-blown glory of English sculpture of the thirteenth century, the figures in the Angel Choir. A beautiful screen of diaper-work and of Decorated date separates the aisle from the north-western chapel of the south-east



Lincoln transept. The centres of the flowers, which are nearly all different, should be noticed: at one part will be seen a nest, the parent bird flying to it and the young birds. At the angle between aisle and transept is a very remarkable pillar, consisting of an octagon pier of Lincoln oolite, with large free curving crockets (like the head of a pastoral staff) running up its whole length on four sides, and being retained, so to speak, by four cylindrical shafts of Purbeck marble. On the other four sides are hexagonal semi-concave shafts of stone, a band runs round the whole composition about midway, and shafts, pier, and pillars terminate in capitals of profuse foliage. Structurally and æsthetically the pillar is a mistake, as it gives the impression of weakness, and its component parts not holding together. Apparently it (with a fellow in the opposite North Choir aisle) is unique in this country, though something similar is seen in the west front of Wells. In the cathedral of Trondjem, in Norway, however, the pillars on each side of the chancel arch are almost identical with these at Lincoln, and doubtless owed their origin to a common source. Another feature of resemblance between these widely distant cathedrals will be noticed later in the description of the doorways into the choir aisles on either side of the organ screen.

Next to the pillar in the south-east transept is the Choristers' Vestry, which retains its ancient use. It has the same double arcading round two sides, with figures of angels carrying scrolls and otherwise employed in the spandrels, an Early English fireplace with projecting hood (another one of admirable design, now blocked up, is in the room between this and the great Southern Vestry), and an elegant little chimney outside (which has been called 'Tom Thumb's

house'), and a stone lavatory basin, of considerable length and panelled front. This, with the diapered wall against which it stands, is of Decorated date. A Perpendicular oak screen encloses the east front of the vestry. The capitals of the pillars in the two northern bays of this transept have the curiously stiff foliage, more like small bundles of reeds tied together near the top. The angles of stone between the separate pillars will also be seen to have capitals of foliage, at a lower level, making altogether a very rich effect. The triforium in these bays consists of small lancet windows, each enclosed in a larger one and arranged in pairs under a pointed arch, two of which occupy one bay, all the mouldings being rich and the pillars numerous, thus giving a great depth to the work. A Purbeck marble abacus is continuous. The tympanum in the two southern arches is pierced by a plain round opening, in the north bay by a trefoil and a quatrefoil respectively. On the east side of the transept the triforium is of the same character, the tympanum in each of the two northern arches having a blocked trefoil, in the two south a plain round hole. In both these bays the intermediate vaulting shaft is carried down just below the clerestory level, and there cut off, being supported by corbels of human figures showing the heads and shoulders. The south bay has on its west side the entrance to the General Vestry, a fine vaulted room with a small crypt beneath, and overhead the room now used as a song or practising school, all of later Early English date. With regard to this south bay, as of the corresponding bay in the north-east transept, opinions differ as to whether it was an after-extension of the transept, or whether, more probably, it was intended to sustain a tower, as was done at Exeter Cathedral. Apparently it

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Lincoln has been shut off, as in the opposite transept, by triforium and clerestory, but early in the thirteenth century these partitions and vaultings were removed. The ground floor is certainly and originally of St. Hugh's date, for on the south wall is the double arcading with trefoil arch in front of the pointed one behind, and angels' heads and wings in the spandrels. The south windows are large lancets, filled with modern and much too glaring glass by Hedgeland. But the filling up spaces and the triforium are evidently of a distinctly later date. The latter has four sharp narrow lancets on its east and west sides, with a profusion of dog-tooth, and much resembling the arches in the great central tower of Grosseteste's date. The bosses of the vaulting of this transept are particularly fine. On its east side are two apsidal chapels; that to the south, the chapel of St. Peter, shows an aumbry with hooks for the hinges of the doors, and a hole for a bar to pass through to fasten them, and an elegant double piscina whose pillars have a square abacus. It contains the recumbent statue of Bishop Kaye (1827-1853) by Westmacott, which, apart from some faults of the altar tomb, and the position of the hands (resigning the pastoral staff), is a beautiful work of art. The bishop was buried at Riseholme, near Lincoln. On the pavement close to this chapel will be seen the brass inscription recording the burial here of Bishops Grosseteste, Gravesend, Lexington, and Ripingdon. The north chapel (of St. Paul) has a good Late Decorated oak screen, an aumbry, and piscina with pillars showing the square abacus, and is used as the Lay Vicars' Vestry.

The North Choir aisle between the two transepts has in the first bay from the west, on the north side, the Perpendicular wooden screen-work of St. James's

Chapel, showing the linenfold pattern ; the remaining bays have the double arcading, the trefoil arches being here behind the plain pointed ones, with figures of angels and saints in the spandril, the most noticeable of which are two female figures—one, very daintily executed, having a kind of massive coronet, and the other wavy hair falling on to her shoulders.

The south side of the first three bays is of the same date as in the south aisle, being a screen wall no doubt interposed between the choir piers, to strengthen the fabric and take off something from the lateral thrust of the great central tower. It has an arcade on triple shafts, ornamented with dog-tooth, and with twisted bosses resembling the rounded head of a drill ; one of them is like a coil of rope (very similar ones are to be seen on the north wall of Caistor Church, Lincolnshire), at the springing of the arches. The last bay eastwards (which is at the back of what was called the ‘Den,’ a pew limited to the use of the residentiary houses, where once an organ stood, which is figured by Hollar in this position) is of much later date, the capitals much undercut, and the corbels at the apex of the string-course showing some approximation to natural foliage, with birds among the leafage, not unlike the carvings of the two lateral doorways into the choir aisles.

At the angle of the North Choir aisle (which has just been described) and the north-east transept is the curious pillar with internal crockets, the fellow to that in the same position on the south side of the church. In the south bay of the transept, on the west wall thereof, are the remains of some huge mural paintings of early Bishops of Lincoln—Bloet, Alexander, Chesney, and Blois—executed in 1723 by Damini, an Italian artist who accompanied Horace Walpole in his travels, and who decorated the apse in St. Peter-at-

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Lincoln    Arches Church in 1727. The wall thus ornamented is part of the Dean's Chapel—a quondam vestry, like that in the south transept, but which has been walled up and divided into two stories at an early date after its erection. The original door with the very fine original wrought-iron work on it (very similar to, but simpler than that from Chester Cathedral, figured by Mr. New on page 162 in President Windle's *Chester*) deserves notice. The doors into the cloisters from this transept have also good ironwork.

St. Hugh's double arcade occupies two sides of the chapel. The attending angels have most of them scrolls in their hands; one, however, has a chalice, and another holds in a sheet a little human figure kneeling with hands clasped in prayer—a soul. A fearful, writhing, grotesque monster is to be found in the north-west corner, who does not seem at all happy in his company or surroundings. The foliage is deeply undercut with fine bosses: those at the springing of the weather-moulding are of the same kind as in the North Choir aisle; square-headed windows have been cut through the west wall to lighten the ground-floor room, and the original shutters of one of these remain. The dividing floor has disappeared, but above where it was may be seen on the south and east walls a row of square cupboards with triangular apertures above them. This, it is believed, was the apotheca, or storehouse, with recesses for the use of the apothecary of the Minster. As in the south-east transept, so here, the east side has two apsidal chapels, the more southern being that of St. Hugh; it has a pointed arcade beneath its windows, and a lofty Perpendicular oak screen, with much linenfold pattern. The aumbry and double piscina are similar to those in the south-east transept chapel, but the latter has only one pillar with a square abacus left.

The other chapel was supposed to be dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and to have been the first burial-place of St. Hugh. Also it was supposed that, owing to the great sanctity of his life, and the miracles which were attributed to him while alive and dead, so great a crowd of worshippers came to this chapel that it was extended eastwards to more than double its original size. Certainly the foundations can be seen of a square-ended building eastwards of this chapel; and Essex the cathedral architect rebuilt it, in its present size, and in a very excellent manner, in 1772. But it is much more probable that St. Hugh was buried originally on the north side of the extreme eastern termination of his apse, and it is not improbable that this chapel was built at first on the square-ended plan, as the late Precentor Venables considered that the view by Hollar in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* showed a building of about the date 1220 A.D.

From this chapel a north doorway, now blocked up, which has some of Grosseteste's diaper-work on it, led into the 'camera communis,' or common chamber.

In the south bay of this transept the triforium is of much the same character as in the corresponding southern, but much simpler, having only one pair of arches divided by one central pillar under the circumscribing arch; in the tympanum are two trefoils and a quatrefoil on the eastern side, the two southernmost are unperforated, the rest have trefoiled openings.

The north bay of the transept is cut off by a wall on the triforium clerestory stages, in which the openings have the same character as in the rest of the transept. The ground floor is vaulted over, and opens towards the south by a wide arch, of much the same kind as those in the choir.

The windows in the north front of this bay are filled with glass by Peckitt, removed from the great

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Lincoln east window when that was refilled with glass in 1855.

The ground floor of this north bay—like the corresponding one in the south-east transept—is probably of the original plan, and of St. Hugh's date, as it shows his peculiar double arcading on its north wall.

Ornamentation by carved foliation—a curious form of trefoil—is a noticeable and somewhat remarkable peculiarity of the Purbeck marble bands which encircle the clustered shafts of the corner piers between the north and south transepts and the eastern portion of the choir aisle, the pier west of the arch to the north bay of the north transept, and the corresponding pier in the north transept, and two piers supporting the vaulting in the North and South Choir aisles (between the transepts).

Two rows of beams carry the thrust of the central tower across the openings of the eastern transepts into the choir; of these the upper one also serves as a bridge to connect the triforium of St. Hugh's with that of the Angel Choir eastwards. Both rows are covered with a shockingly feeble attempt at Gothic ornament, which would do credit to the paper frill round a pie-dish.

The wrought-iron gates enclosing the choir are original and of excellent character, with rather a poor modern cresting.

The eastern piers of the arches opening into the eastern transept have been altered and strengthened when the new Presbytery or Angel Choir was built: that on the south retains the Early English capitals of the vaulting shafts, those on the north being changed. A foot or two of wall in both piers may be noticed extending respectively south-east and north-east. If a line were drawn and carried forward from these

walls on each side they would meet, forming the apex of a triangle in the middle of the easternmost bay of the Angel Choir; and these pieces of wall almost certainly are remains of the apsidal east end of St. Hugh's Church. The lines of this, as it was made out in 1886,<sup>1</sup> are traced on the pavement, and they comprise a semicircular chapel on each side, corresponding closely in size to those of St. Peter and St. Hugh in the lesser transepts, a smaller chapel with apsidal end further east, having vaulting shafts at the corners, and a hexagonal chapel, 23 feet internal diameter, whose eastern wall would truncate the apex of the triangle in the second bay from the east of the Angel Choir. This plan of an apse, which has small chapels alternating with larger ones (exceeding a semicircle), has much likeness to several early French churches, notably Fontevraud and Rouen (and St. Ouen), and Chartres. And the terminal hexagonal chapel has its counterpart in the eastern terminations of some early thirteenth-century Bohemian churches. Actually embedded in the north-east wall of this terminal chapel, beneath the marble slab on four legs erected by Bishop Fuller in memory of St. Hugh, was found a stone coffin containing another coffin of lead unsoldered and rather roughly put together. In this was a mass of decaying linen and silken vestments, but no indication of any human remains, except the stained sides of the coffin. The tissues were examined and found to consist of flax, silk, and a fine gold thread. This then, probably, was the first resting-place of the body of St. Hugh in 1200, on the north side of St. John the Baptist's Chapel, which he had directed to be finished, well out of the way of pious visitors, as he

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<sup>1</sup> Of this the late Precentor Venables gave a most interesting account in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports*, vol. xviii. (1885-6), p. 88.



Lincoln had suggested, and thence the body would be translated in 1280 (he had been canonised by Pope Honorius III. in 1220) to the shrine behind the High Altar in the Angel Choir, whilst his head was enshrined on the mutilated pedestal north of the central altar, which we know was St. John the Baptist's, and west of the Burghersh tombs. The scooped-out piece of pavement in front testifies to the adoration of many worshippers.

The shrine was of pure gold, and adorned no doubt with precious stones on a stone base and secured by a grille of wrought iron, the marks of which remained in the pavement till the middle of the eighteenth century. Its site was probably where the altar-tomb stands behind the High Altar, which was put up by Bishop Fuller in honour of St. Hugh. Among the great spoil (2021 ounces of gold and 4285 ounces of silver) of the Minster which in 1535 went to swell the coffers of King Henry VIII., express mention is made of 'one of pure gold called the St. Hugh's Shryne standing on the backe syde of the highe aulter near unto Dalyson's tombe.' 'In 1364,' according to Knighton, 'thieves carried off the head of Saint Hugh of Lincoln, and having taken the gold, silver, and precious stones, threw the head away in a certain field, and marvellous to relate a crow, just as if it had done it by report, guarded it until it was recognised and carried back to Lincoln. The aforesaid thieves made their way to London to sell the spoils of their robbery, and sold them, so it was said, for twenty marks, and returning into the country were robbed of the said money. Afterwards confessing themselves guilty of the said crime, they were captured and hung at Lincoln.' The king (Edward III.) to whom the head had become forfeit, graciously returned it to the cathedral, where its damages were repaired and its ornaments

restored by the munificence of John of Welbourn, the treasurer. The accounts of the 'opening' of the money boxes attached to it and to the shrine are extant for nearly two centuries, and took place regularly at Pentecost, and on the morrow of St. Denis, October 9, and the amounts vary from between £20 and £30 in the fourteenth century to under £20 in the fifteenth, and to only about £6 in the last year of collection, 1532. No special mention of the head of St. Hugh is made in the memorandum just quoted from, but it almost certainly helped to swell the total of gold, silver, and 'a greate nombre of Pearles and precious stones wch were of greate valewe as dyamondes, sapphires, Rubyes, Turkeys, Carbuncles, etc.'

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#### NOTE ON THE USE OF THE WORDS MINSTER OR CATHEDRAL

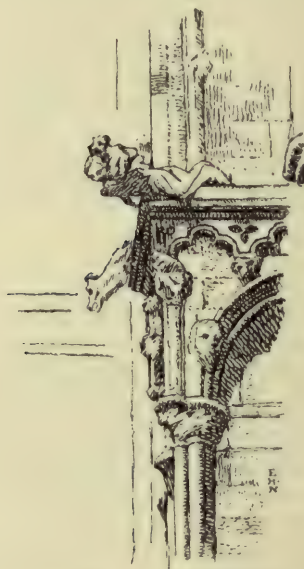
In absolute strictness of speech, the word Minster (a corruption of Monasterium—a monastery) should only be used of a monastery or conventual church, but it has been applied to the cathedral church of Lincoln for centuries—a church of secular canons, and wholly free from monks. For instance, in the accounts of the generosity of John of Welbourn, written probably in the end of the fourteenth century, he is described as having vaulted the bell-towers 'in fine occidentali *monasterii*.' In John of Gaunt's will, dated the 3rd of February 1398, are various donations and bequests 'al *monstier* de n're dame de Nicol.' An inquisition in the reign of John of Gaunt's father, King Edward III., speaks of the western end of St. Hugh's shrine 'in *monasterio*.' For a later example in English, Canon Maddison supplies a phrase from a will of William Skelton in 1500, 'that I hold uppon the *Mynster*.' And in Yorke's *Union of Honour*, he stated (writing of the Duchess of Lancaster and her daughter), 'This Katherine, and her daughter Joan, lieth buried in Lincolne *Minster*.' The late Professor Freeman wrote of Lincoln, with York and Beverley, 'agreeing to this day in having kept in common use the good old name of *minster*. . . . At Lincoln a strange attempt, which it may not be too late to stop, has been made in very recent times to supplant it by the new-fangled and awkward style of "Lincoln *cathedral*." We do right to speak in formal language of "the cathedral church of Saint Mary of Lincoln"; but

## Lincoln

in common speech the name of the building has ever been "Lincoln Minster," and such, it is to be hoped, it may ever remain.<sup>1</sup>

Consequently, throughout this book, the word Minster is used, except in the chapters dealing with the bishop's see and his cathedral church.

<sup>1</sup> *Cathedral Cities, York, Lincoln, and Beverley.* Macmillan and Bowes.



THE DEVIL ON THE WITCH'S BACK







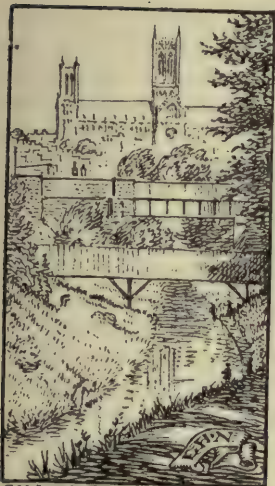
THE NAVE

## CHAPTER VI

SEE AND CATHEDRAL: FROM DEATH OF ST. HUGH  
TO 1235

‘This immense  
And glorious Work of fine intelligence.’

WORDSWORTH.



SINCIL DYKE

the death of St. Hugh, we have the evidence of a letter from King John, written from Dorchester in

AFTER the death of St. Hugh, the see remained vacant for some years owing to a dispute between the king and the chapter about the right to elect to the bishopric. The latter body chose William de Blois in 1201, and he was consecrated in 1203. He had been Prebendary and Precentor of Lincoln, and so would no doubt be thoroughly imbued with the desire to help on the ‘New Work’ of his cathedral. That this work was going on, despite

Lincoln 1205, pointing out the need there was for the contributions from all the dwellers in the diocese 'ad constructionem novi operis,' and the incongruousness of so noble a work being left unfinished. Bishop William of Blois died in 1206, and the see was again vacant till 1209. In the latter year another letter is extant from King John to all persons in the diocese, dated at Witten (Witney in Oxfordshire), 'we charge you that you allow the canons (or prebendaries) of the Church of Lincoln to lead away the felled timber (*mairemium*) which they had themselves acquired without the forest, and the lead which they themselves had bought for the building of their Church on payment of the ancient and customary dues.' In the same year Hugh the Second was appointed Bishop of Lincoln. He was brother to Joscelin, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Prebendary of Lincoln, and had been Archdeacon of Wells and Chancellor of the King's (according to Roger of Wendover), so for convenience he is often known, to distinguish him from his predecessor, as 'Hugh of Wells.' England at that time was lying under an interdict, owing to the refusal of King John to recognise Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury: by Langton, however, at Melun, Hugh was consecrated, and not, as King John had settled, by the Bishop of Rouen. Consequently the revenues of the see were seized by the king till his submission to Pandulf, in 1213. Curiously enough, the bishop is called Hubert in King John's charter, and by Wendover subsequently. During his occupancy of Lincoln the claims of Bishop Hugh of Avalon to sanctity, founded partly on the miracles which occurred at his tomb, were examined by Archbishop Stephen Langton and John, Abbot of Fountains, and, as has been stated, Pope Honorius III. decreed his canonisa-

tion in 1220. Bishop Hugh of Wells completed the hall at the Bishop's Palace, which was begun by St. Hugh, and added kitchens and other offices. In 1224 a letter from King Henry III. announces that 'we have given to H. bishop of Lincoln forty trunks to be taken in our forest of Sirewood, for making beams and joists for his hall at Lincoln.' As a partisan of the Barons and Lewis, the Bishop after 'Lincoln Fair' had to pay a fine of 1000 marks to the Pope and 100 to his Legate, before he was allowed to return to his diocese. He took, no doubt, his share in carrying on the architectural work of St. Hugh in the cathedral—the Metrical Life (whether speaking strictly of the chapter-house or more generally of the cathedral) says :

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*'Si quorum vero perfectio restat, Hugonis  
Perficietur opus primi sub Hugone secundo.'*

But his greatest work probably was the establishment in his diocese of vicars (of whom a list of more than three hundred exists), a great step in the improvement of the spiritual care of the parishioners throughout the diocese. Bishop Hugh died in 1235 and was buried in the cathedral. By his will he left 'one hundred marks and all the felled timber which I may die possessed of throughout my diocese on condition that my successor may redeem it for fifty marks.' 'For my funeral and for buying what shall be needful for the altar which is close to my tomb, one hundred marks.' It has been stated that part, at any rate, of the great transepts was built at St. Hugh's death; probably the plans were completed and the foundations laid of the whole of those transepts. Certainly all the work on the east side of the transepts is of the same kind, character, and date of the choir of St. Hugh, and evidently by the same architect;



Lincoln and the rose or wheel windows at the end of the transepts are expressly mentioned (lines 937-945) by the writer of the Metrical Life of St. Hugh, and were built (the southern one probably having always been the larger one; the present one is, of course, of much later date) before that was written, about the time of his canonisation :

*‘ De Duabus orbicularibus fenestris.*

Præbentes geminae jubar orbiculare fenestrae,  
Ecclesiae duo sunt oculi : rectèque videtur  
Major in his esse praesul, minor esse decanus.  
Est aquilo zabulus, est Sanctus Spiritus auster :  
Quos oculi duo respiciunt. Nam respicit austrum  
Praesul, ut invitet : aquilonem vero decanus,  
Ut vitet : videt hic ut salvetur, videt ille  
Ne pereat. Frons ecclesiae candelabra coeli,  
Et tenebras Lethes, oculis circumspicit istis.’

The previous lines run as follows :

‘ Illustrans mundum divino lumine, cleri  
Est praeclara cohors : claris expressa fenestris.  
Ordo subalternus utrobique potestque notari ;  
Ordine canonicus exstante, vicarius imo.  
Et quia, canonico tractante, negotia mundi,  
Jugis et assiduus divina vicarius implet,  
Summa fenestrarum series nitet inclita florum  
Involucro, mundi varium signante decorem ;  
Inferior perhibet sanctorum nomine patrum.’

(Lines 928 to 936.)

These circular windows are thus supposed to represent the Bishop and the Dean, following a description of the clerestory windows—the ‘ordo extans’ ‘summa fenestrarum series’ typifying the Canons of the Church, and the ‘ordo imus’ ‘inferior series,’ the aisle windows representing the Vicars. The idea of evil coming from the north and good from the south (which probably accounts for the once universal feeling against burying on the north side of a church), is founded on passages of Scripture, such

as Jeremiah i. 14, 'Out of the *north* an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land'; iv. 6, 'I will bring evil from the *north* and a great destruction'; Isaiah xiv. 13, 'For thou hast said in thine heart . . . I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the *north*'; Jer. vi. 1, 'for evil appeareth out of the *north*, and great destruction.'

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There are few more interesting portions of the cathedral than the chapels which are nearest the crossing in the great north and south transepts, for they show clearly the change of design which occurred after the death of St. Hugh. This chapel (which with all the others is elevated two steps above the floor of the transept) in the North Transept was dedicated to St. James. On its east wall will be seen St. Hugh's double arcading with its 'pigeon-holes,' only with the slight difference that here the pointed arches are in front of the trefoil-headed ones. At the commencement of the second bay northwards, and in the adjoining chapel, the pointed arches stop, the trefoil-headed ones are brought right through the thickness of the wall flush with its surface, and are supported by one pillar only. This work extends as far as the north wall of the transept, where there are three lancets in the arcading. The hood-moulding is continued (this belonged to the pointed arcading), a string-course at the level of the abacus is continuous, and a little pointed arch is put in rather cleverly to bridge the gap between the two designs. The binding of Purbeck marble round the vaulting shaft at the junction of the two kinds of work has the trefoil ornament, the same as in the other transepts and choir aisles. The vaulting of all these chapels is quinquepartite, with two large lancets to each bay. In St. James's Chapel is a pillar piscina and an aumbry, and on the pace for the altar will be seen the nine holes

Lincoln for playing a game called 'Peg Merril.' The middle chapel was dedicated to St. Denis, and has two water drains in the floor and holes for the altar legs; the northernmost was dedicated to St. Nicholas. They are separated from each other and from that of St. James's by dwarf walls of later date, called 'perpeyn walls,' and the late Precentor Venables remarked, 'in proportion, conception, and detail, they are about as perfect as they well can be. They are arcaded with richly moulded arches springing from groups of three attached shafts cut out of one block of marble, the angles above also being decorated with shafts and capitals of foliage, an additional air of richness being given by vertical strips of dog-tooth filling the interval. Each wall is gabled, the gable ending in a finial, in a manner resembling the capping of the unaltered buttresses of the chapter-house, the tympanum being filled with foliage.' The two northern chapels have good oak Perpendicular screen-work, with delicate tracery, ogees arched freely and fully crocketed, and the mullions are finished as slender buttresses with crocketed heads on the cornice, on which are also some sprays of foliage. On the cornice of St. Nicholas's screen are angels' heads with outspread wings. The southern chapel screen is of deal, and is a copy of the stone screen of St. Edward's Chapel in the south transept, and was made towards the end of the eighteenth century. The head of the ogee above the figure of a seated bishop is a shield bearing on it a St. Andrew's Cross, an escutcheon of two lions passant regardant. The arcade on the east side of the transept has much resemblance to St. Hugh's Choir, the arches being richly moulded, of wide span, and the capitals of the piers exhibit the same stiff tied-knot character. The piers have clustered shafts, four large and four small

stone, and eight small intervening Purbeck ones. The south bay of the triforium again shows the effect of the fall of the central tower, as it is quite different from all the others in the transept. Next to the tower is a sharp-pointed lancet with much dog-tooth between the pillars on each side, and a quatrefoil pierced right through the wall, between it and the enclosing arch above. North of this are a pair of lancets, with a quatrefoil over in the tympanum, and the pillar between them is quite plain, octagonal, and has no capital. The hood-mould which is peculiar to this bay is ornamented with dog tooth. The rest of the triforium on the east side is of very similar character to that in St. Hugh's Choir, each bay consisting of two double sub-arches under an enclosing one, with trefoil openings, irregular and not through the wall in the tympanum. The clerestory has two lancets in each bay, with two attendant tiny lancets as in the choir. The vaulting shafts in groups of three, the centre one being of Purbeck marble, run down to the ground, or at least to the abacus of the arcade piers; the third (from the north) will be noticed as stopping at the pillar of the triforium, which is single and filleted like those in the arcade below. The intermediate shafts are stopped just above the level of the triforium floor. The vaulting is sexpartite, the ribs richly wrought with dog-tooth moulding, and the bosses elaborate and deeply cut. It is noticeable that the level of the vaulting is very low; indeed, in the northernmost bay, the middle rib only misses cutting into the wheel window by suddenly ascending several feet. This transept has been well and carefully restored by the late J. Pearson, R.A. The Purbeck marble has been cleaned, and the vaulting has been ornamented with colour, after the original pattern found *in situ*: the

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Lincoln bosses being gilt. One mistake is glaringly apparent—that the pointing was done with mortar slightly darker than the stone, which cuts up the pillars into rounds of cheeses, and gives a singularly unpleasant appearance to the whole of the stone work throughout the transept. The north end of this transept has arcading of the same kind as that on the north wall of the north chapel, with tall narrow arches supported on triple shafts; ‘the arch,’ as Precentor Venables noticed, ‘having an inner order beyond the capital applied against the wall: a feature occurring continually in the later Early English work in this cathedral.’ The Dean’s Door or Porch is a very singular structure, and consists internally of a square-headed doorway under a pointed arch, which has dog-tooth moulding on the soffit, a hood-moulding ending in bosses of foliage, a plain tympanum and imposts ornamented with foliage. Outside the square-headed doorway is divided into two by a central octagonal shaft, the tympanum having three pointed arches of profuse foliage supported on short pillars; a rich band of foliage runs round the circumscribing arch. Three pillars on either side support the arch. In front of this is an arcaded and sexpartite vaulted porch, with open sides (showing rather heavy clusters of pillars), and a threefold gable with the central one open. On either side of this doorway is a large lancet window, containing good old glass. In that on the west side are five figures of angels playing on various musical instruments: these Mr. Winston considered to be insertions, ‘of late Decorated (in style) and of excellent character, and that they belong in all probability to the west window of the nave.’ The eastern window has interlaced triangles of differing colours and possibly Masonic significance. The centering of the arches round the splay of these windows is

awkwardly done, and it will be noticed that the apex cuts into the cill of the arcade above. This is composed of seven delightful, sharp-pointed little lancets, of which the two outermost do not pierce the wall. The glass is ancient, grizaille, and of a white pattern. The clock on this wall is new ; but the canopy is that belonging to the original clock presented to the cathedral either by Treasurer Welbourn (*'ac eciam facturam horilogii quod vocatur klok'*) or Thomas de Luda in 1324 (*'novum horologium'*) in the fourteenth century, beneath which were three figures which struck the hours and quarters on bells provided for the purpose. It came from Messingham, where it was taken at the commencement of the last century by Sub-dean Bayley, who was also Archdeacon of Stow. The great rose or wheel window above this is an admirable and very perfect example of plate tracery at its best. It is composed of a very large quatrefoil (enclosing a very small one) surrounded by sixteen roundels, the intervening spaces being pierced by trefoils and small rounds. The outer surface is ornamented profusely with small florets and heads and foliage, and the whole is surrounded by two deep hollow mouldings, with flowers (and heads) in the cavettos, and an outer rim of dog-tooth. The glass of this window is, most fortunately, contemporary, and is very valuable as, according to Mr. Winston, 'one of the most splendid, and in its present state one of the most perfect, works of the thirteenth century. The subject of the window is the Church on Earth and the Church in Heaven. The central part of the window is occupied with a representation of the Blessed in Heaven, with Christ sitting in the midst. The sixteen circles which form the outer part of the window, set forth the mysterious scheme of Man's Redemption and the efficacy of the Holy Church.

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Lincoln In the topmost circle is represented our Saviour seated on a rainbow, and displaying the five wounds. The two next circles on each side the window contain angels supporting the Cross and other instruments of the Passion. In the next circle on each side are holy persons in the act of being escorted to Heaven by St. Peter and other Saints. The two next circles on each side are or have been occupied with a representation of the General Resurrection; and each of the lowest five circles is filled with either the figure of an Archbishop or of a Bishop in Mass vestments.' The arcading on the west side of the transept has four acutely pointed lancet arches to each bay with a continuous string-course level with the abacus of the capitals, and a bench, table, or seat running round the rest of the transept. There are two large lancet windows to each bay, and it will be noted that the centering of the inner arches over these windows is irregular, defective, and awkward. The triforium has four small lancet windows, acutely pointed, and with dog-tooth moulding. In the clerestory in each bay are two lancets, with tiny ones, like those already described in St. Hugh's Choir, at either side. The vaulting shafts go right through to the ground, while the intermediate shafts are stopped on corbels below the level of the cill of the triforium.

On the east wall of the northernmost chapel in the great South Transept, St. Hugh's work appears, in the familiar form of the double arcade, with the trefoil-headed arches in front of the pointed ones and the 'pigeon-holes' above. In the next bay the pointed arches only are carried through and supported on two pillars, placed one immediately in front of the other, the spacing of the arches being somewhat irregular. In the last bay to the south there is a string-course continuous with the abaci of

the pillars, which are grouped in clusters of three supporting broader and shallower arches, bosses of foliage covering the junctions of the hood-moulding. The rest of the transept has a somewhat similar arrangement, with a low seat or bench table running round it. In the first-mentioned chapel on the banding of the vaulting shaft will be seen the curious trefoiled ornament peculiar to this early work of St. Hugh's. He laboured with his own hands, possibly here or at some other part of the work, according to the testimony of Roger of Wendover and of the Metrical Life, which gives also a miraculous cure of a cripple after using the hod which St. Hugh had used. This chapel (or Founder's Chapel) was originally dedicated to St. Anne, but was refounded by Henry, Duke of Lancaster, who changed the dedication to that of St. Edward the Martyr. Four chaplains were instituted to say Mass daily, 'pro salute vivorum et requie defunctorum hujus ecclesiae benefactorum.' Their chantry-house was that called the 'Work's Chantry' in Eastgate just west of the Deanery. On the interesting stone screen (which has been drawn and figured by Pugin) are kneeling figures of the chaplains (now headless), and above them, around the inner side of the arch, are the words (abbreviated), 'Oremus pro Benefactoribus istius ecclesiae.' A bishop seated occupies the spandril above the entrance arch, and beneath the tabernacle work is a shield with the coat-of-arms of France ancient and England quarterly. The perpeyn walls which separate the three chapels in this transept are much plainer than those in the northern one, and only one shows traces of any gabling. The second chapel was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, and the third or southernmost one to St. Thomas. A beautiful bracket of Decorated date, and an elaborate

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Lincoln altar-tomb of Sir George Taylboys displaying much heraldry, deserve notice. The wood screens in front of these last two chapels are almost exactly the same as in the corresponding positions in the north transept. Both north and south transepts are alike in the work in the triforium, clerestory, vaultings (in the northern bay east side the vaulting shaft is solidly buttressed up in the triforium stage), and in the alteration in the triforium of the bay nearest the central tower, though the tympanum is ornamented with quatrefoils which are not always pierced completely through. The south wall of this transept has the arcading of three wide shallow lancets on triple shafts. Above are four very slightly splayed large lancet windows filled with glass of Early English date. In the second window from the west at the top our Lord is holding a redeemed soul in the fold of His robe, next comes our Lord's apprehension and the kiss of Judas, below that the Last Supper with St. John reclining on our Lord's bosom. Herod's banquet is represented in the next panel, and lowest of all is the daughter of Herodias 'tumbling' (as it is translated in old versions of the Bible) before Herod. She is—as nowadays one might say—standing on her head, and her scarlet stockings are much in evidence. In the adjoining window, our Lord and St. Peter walking on the water, and the ship of St. Nicholas, may be seen. In the apex of the third window is a shield, with a lion rampant *or* impaling *gules* a mullet *argent*, quartering a plain coat of *or*. Originally no doubt above was a rose or wheel window, larger but of somewhat similar character to the Dean's Eye on the north transept. In 1320 Bishop John D'Alderby died at Stow, and was buried in this transept, where on the west side the remains of his shrine and two pillars with embattled

summits (for candles?) are to be seen. The shrine was of silver, and was the most valuable in the cathedral next to that of St. Hugh. 'The other called St. John of Dalderby his shryne was of pure sylver standinge in the southe Ende of a Great Crosse Isle not fare from the dore where ye Gallyley Courte ys used to be kept. The tomb was thronged by the people superstitiously,' says Godwin, 'and he was revered as a Saint.'<sup>1</sup> It is probably due to this veneration inspired by Bishop D'Alderby that the very beautiful rose window replaced the earlier one. It is of exquisite tracery, which has been likened very justly, by Pugin, to the veins of two leaves placed side by side. It probably dates from about 1330. It is surrounded internally by a hollow ornament of a double row of pierced quatrefoil. The whole of the upper south end of the transept was reconstructed at the same time, a row of cusped quatrefoils over the window on the outside being regarded by Precentor Venables as remains of the original wheel window; above that row is a splendid Decorated window, with almost flamboyant tracery; and the gable is finished with a beautiful open-work parapet, and pinnacles of different design on each side.

Out of the south-west corner of this transept is a door leading to the Galilee Porch. The doorway has a double-pointed arch with a central pier of four keeled pillars, rich capital, and three grotesque monsters crawling round the base. All the pillars in this building were originally in all probability of Purbeck marble, but have been restored in baser stone. The mouldings of the arches of the circumscribing one above are richly (if somewhat inartistically) covered with foliage, in a manner closely resembling that on the outside of the tympanum

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<sup>1</sup> Later on, notice will be made of attempts to get him canonised.

Lincoln of the Dean's Porch in the great north transept. In the tympanum there is a piece of singular ornament, *i.e.* a diamond-shaped lozenge, which could well be spared wherever it occurs in the cathedral, as its lines do not harmonise with a single line of the architecture around. It is also found on the outside of the chapter-house, on the outside of the great north transept, on the west wall of the Consistory Court, and the southern turret of the west front. The porch is cruciform in plan and of two stories. The eastern arm has five bays of arcading, very acutely pointed arches being supported on groups of three pillars—the easternmost being cylindrical, the next hexagonal and semi-concave, and the rest keeled, except at the junction of the arms where the corner one is hexagonal and semi-concave. The vaulting ribs are richly decorated with dog-tooth moulding. The abacus is continued as a string-course. The capitals have the tied-knot character. The ends of the south and west arms of the cross are open, that of the northern one has three arches supported on banded piers of three semicircular hexagonal pillars. All round the porch is an arcading of sharp-pointed arches with stiff conventional capitals, continuous string-course, keeled shafts, and dog-tooth ornament to the weather-moulding. The inner arches are profusely encrusted with this moulding. The upper story has well-shaped lancet windows, and is finished above by a panelled and embattled Perpendicular parapet with elegant crosses at the corners, which, in spite of the difference in date and style, still blends happily with the earlier work. The porch is an admirable example of the best period of Early English architecture, and was probably erected about 1235, in the last years of Bishop Hugh of Wells. It was built originally as a state entrance

to his cathedral for the bishop, as it opens directly opposite the Norman arch in the north wall of the Bishop's Palace, which was made by Bishop Robert Bloet in 1110, by leave of King Henry 1. The 'Galilee' was a term applied either to a porch as here and at Ely, or to a western chapel, as at Durham, in which penitents were permitted, or as at Durham women were allowed, to worship. The room in the upper story (now the cathedral muniment room) was used for the court of the Dean and Chapter 'curia vocata le Galilee,' having jurisdiction over the close. The subjoined oath of the steward of the Galilee Court, which dates probably about the middle of the fifteenth century, is interesting as well in itself as in its spelling of our native tongue: 'I shall be trewe ffeithfull and obediente to the deaſn and Chapiter of thys church of lincoln and to theire Successor's and in absence of the sayd deaſn to the Subdeaſn and chapiter of the same church in all man<sup>r</sup> lefull and lawfull. Their Secrete and counsell I shall well and trewly keppe counseile and hele. And to none it opyn nor showe but to such as be sworn to their counsayle. The office of Stewardshipp of y<sup>e</sup> Galilee courte I shall trewely minister and occupy doynge ryght to euere man after my connyng and lernynge. I shall not doe nor attempt nothyng preiudiciall to y<sup>e</sup> sayde dean & Chapito<sup>r</sup> or their Suet, nor church of lincoln nor be of counsell to no thyng ne matir that shall be preiudiciall or derogacion of the ryght ffranchies or libertez of the said church knowynge or wyttingly. But I shall notify and warn theme there of and resyste it to my (conynge &) power.

'So helpp me godd And the holy euangelistes.'<sup>1</sup>

Traces of the influence of St. Hugh's work, if they be not actually of his time, may be seen in the west

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<sup>1</sup> *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, part ii. p. 564.





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front, on either side of the Norman portion. The doorways, groined and vaulted internally (a boss of Cain and Abel should be noticed in the southern porch), have in the arcade above them and beside them work very similar to that of St. Hugh, in the style of the arcade, and particularly in a reproduction of the 'pigeon holes.' This part of the west front is undoubtedly very early in date. Above the arcading is a fine circular window with bold mouldings, that to the south having a border of open-work cusps round its outer edge both outside and inside. The existence of these porches clearly show that before or about the year 1200 the retention of the Norman work in the western towers and west front had been decided upon, for there are the approaches to two (or four, if the subdivisions be considered) chapels, which flank the Norman building and the existing Early English nave, for two bays length, on the north and south, and in these chapels curiously early work is also to be found. That on the north

side, known as the 'Morning Chapel,' has vaulting ribs of an early date, the capitals of the vaulting shafts on the nave side being of the stiff tied-knot kind, the piers clustered and banded. In the middle of the chapel is a most beautiful central pier, consisting of eight keeled shafts of Purbeck marble, banded halfway up, with a plain capital and elegant base on rather a stilted substructure. Both these pillars have capitals and abaci of Purbeck marble. On the east wall is an early piece of arcading consisting of arches supported not on shafts but on corbels. This is abruptly cut off at its northern end. The cusps of the hood-mould are foliated, and the Purbeck abacus is continued across as a string-course. It is interrupted on the north side by a large triangular-headed aumbry, and on the south by a recess for a double piscina, which has Purbeck marble shafts, plain capitals, and square abaci. The other instances will be remembered in the piscinae of the eastern transept chapels. There is also a floor drain. Above this arcade are two large lancet windows with banded shafts on each side. On the north side of the chapel the easternmost vaulting shafts go down to the floor on to a stilted base between the two large lancet windows. The shaft is banded and stands free from the wall, and is composed of a square stone centre (half a hexagon in section) with two small pillars and three large ones of Purbeck. The western one is similar, but has a hexagonal semi-concave pier below the band. The arcade on this side has a head-moulding ending in bosses of foliage supported on groups of three pillars, of which the front one and the abaci are of Purbeck marble. There is a bench table along this side of the chapel. The arches are ornamented with dog-tooth. The capitals are bell-shaped, with mouldings at neck and cap and one intermediately

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Lincoln placed: much the same in character is the arcade on the south side of this chapel dividing it from the nave. The screen wall on the nave side has a pointed trefoil-headed arcade, the trefoil being expanded into a round head over the door which has a singularly varied moulding of dog-tooth around it. Two quatrefoiled openings have been made later to give a view of the altar. Much the same occurs on the west side, where it forms a front to the lateral Norman extension north of the tower. Over this is a sharply pointed shallow lancet with slender pillars on each side. The northern part of this wall is a brick-and-stone partition between the chapel and the approach from the west front. The Norman features of this approach have been already described, the vaulting is similar to that of the chapel, the arcading is continued along the north wall, where there have been two large lancet windows, now blocked up. The arch leading to the circular window in the west front is stilted and obtusely headed. The chief use of this room is for the storage of coke.

The south chapel was dedicated to the Holy Trinity. An inscription seems to have been placed close by this chapel in the nave as follows: 'Haec ecclesia dicata' (for *dedicata*) 'est in honore S. Trinitatis et S. Mariae IV Martii a domino Hugone Lincolniae Episcopo anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXCII tempore Ricardi regis.' This may have referred to this chapel. It is now used as the Consistory Court. The pier between the chapel and the nave is very similar to the one in the same position in the Morning Chapel, and the capitals to the pier on the west are of early character also, as those are to the blocked-up arch at the west end of the chapel which forms a facing to the Norman extension south of the tower. The windows are large lancets, two of which have a central mullion, dividing

into two at the head. The upper spandril of the east window has the Agnus Dei, in the head of the northern light is the coat of the see of Lincoln, in that of the southern the see of Lincoln impaling *gules* five fusils *argent*. In the south-east window is a coat-of-arms of Bishop Reynolds (1723-1744), i.e., *argent* a chevron chequy *gules* and *azure*, with a crescent *argent* between three cross crosslets fitchy *gules*. The vaulting is sexpartite, and there is no central shaft. The shafts are stopped by corbels above the string-course which runs around the chapel. Those on the east and west sides have foliated capitals, while those of the shafts on each side the window and in the south-east corner are plain, bell-shaped, and with mouldings. The arcades are much the same as in the Morning Chapel. On the west wall are three of the ugly lozenges already mentioned. At the north-east end of the chapel is a large aumbry or cupboard, in the south-west wall a double piscina with covers to the basins. The screen wall between the chapel and nave has on its north side a pointed trefoil-headed arcade with the Purbeck marble abacus continued as a string-course, and passing as a head-moulding over the door over which the trefoil is round-headed. Two almost square-headed windows have been inserted later on (to give a view of the altar), which retain their original iron bars and are shuttered. The part between this chapel and the west front has been called St. Hugh's or the Ringers' Chapel. Possibly here was what was termed 'Le peel,' or 'pele auter,' whereat about the year 1437 one John Bellrynger was accused of keeping a dog in a bed close by the 'altare de pele,' which caused much defilement to the church. It has the same arcade as the Consistory Court on the south, and a commencement of the arcade at the north-east angle. The vaulting shafts are stopped

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Lincoln on early corbels above the string-course. The Norman features have been already described. An Early English circular staircase partially fills up the southern great recess. The opening to the circular west window has a semicircular head with numerous mouldings and early capitals, and, on the west, chamfered arches dying off into the wall on each side. The window itself is very deeply set in three layers of mouldings with deep cavettos, the outermost having open cusping with double points. A bold string-course runs below the window. The doorway to the west front has a pointed arch beneath an obtuse triangular-headed arch, with angle pillars which have vanished. On the walls are painted bands of foliage and the remains of a number of names of various bell-ringers. An interesting account of the seventeenth-century 'Ordinances of the Companie of Ringers of Sainte Hughe Bells and our Ladye Bells' was given by Canon Wordsworth in the *Associated Architectural Societies' Volumes*, xx. p. 35.

On the authority of the *Metrical Life of St. Hugh*, which was written between the years 1220 and 1235 (as he alludes to St. Hugh's canonisation, and also to Bishop Hugh the Second, *i.e.* of Wells, who did not die till the latter year), the Chapter-House must date somewhere between these years. For the author evidently considers it to be part of the plan of St. Hugh's church; and the passage already quoted, '*Si quorum vero,*' etc., may apply strictly to the chapter-house, described in the lines immediately before in these somewhat extravagant terms:

*'Astant ecclesiae capitolia, qualia nunquam  
Romanus possedit apex: spectabile quorum  
Vix opus inciperet nummosa pecunia Croesi.  
Scilicet introitus ipsorum sunt quasi quadra  
Porticus; interius spatium patet orbiculare  
Materiâ tentans templum Salomonis et arte.'*

(Lines 956-961.)

This edifice which, despite the overstrained eulogy quoted, is a very beautiful piece of work, is situated on the eastern side of the cloister, and is approached by a little groined passage of Decorated date, of the same style and time as the cloisters. The western doorway consists of a rather broad arch with several mouldings, two of which are the ever-recurring dog-tooth: it is supported on either side by four pillars of Purbeck, one of which is cylindrical and the rest hexagonal and semi-concave, with dog-tooth running up between them. The capitals are of the stiff-leaved conventional kind. Beneath this arch are two with pointed heads, an inner moulding of dog-tooth, and an outer of foliage much undercut. They are separated by a shaft of four keeled pillars of Purbeck. On each side of the main arch is a sharply pointed arch of similar character with bosses of foliage at the intersection of the hood-moulding and Purbeck marble pillars. On each side of these extends the length of the cloister wall, an arcade of pointed arches, freely dog-toothed, with clusters of three Purbeck pillars and a bench-table. This has been all restored lately, and was built up when the cloisters were added in Decorated times. The doors were given by the present bishop, as the lines over the wicket-gate testify—

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‘Aptavit valvas Edwardus Episcopus istas,  
Cui pateat Patris coelica porta domus’—

and the quatrefoil in the tympanum of the doorway is filled with glass showing the words, ‘Edwardus Episcopus,’ and the date MDCCCXC around the shield beneath the mitre, with the arms of the see of Lincoln (*i.e.*, *gules* two lions passant guardant *or*; on a chief *azure* the Holy Virgin and Child, sitting crowned, and bearing a sceptre of the second) impaling Bishop King’s personal coat-of-arms (*sable* a lion rampant

Lincoln between three cross crosslets *or*). Inside the doorway the wide arch and narrower lateral ones are repeated. Above, comes a delicate string-course, with dog-tooth moulding and an arcade of seven exquisite little lancets, with dog-tooth in the arches, and stiff conventional foliage in the capitals. They light a passage leading from one staircase to the other. Above there is a semicircular-headed arch on a Purbeck marble pillar each side, and westwards a large circular window, devoid of tracery, which has been recently fitted with coloured glass and good ironwork by Clayton and Bell in memory of the late Sub-dean J. Clements, to whose loving care, enthusiastic energy, and financial skill the cathedral has owed greatly in past years. At the western end of the vestibule is a door on each side to staircases, and near its ending in the chapter-house is a door to the Minster Green, which was used, as has been previously mentioned, for the escape of gentlemen in the rebellion of 1536. The vestibule consists of two bays of sexpartite vaulting, the vaulting shafts (the main ones having three pillars, the intermediate two), coming down to corbels at the level of the cill of the windows, of which there are two lofty lancets to each bay. A graceful arcade extends along each side of the vestibule, with a low seat or bench-table, sharply pointed arches, the abacus and string-course being continuous, bosses of foliage at the ends of the hood-moulding, and sprigs of foliage at the springing of the arches. The capitals have much freer and more curved foliage. The pillars are grouped in threes, and are of Purbeck marble. A very similar arcade runs right round the chapter-house, but there is a wide step, and the seat is much higher in consequence. The vaulting shafts at the junction of the vestibule and the chapter-house on both sides are composed of five banded Purbeck

pillars—two cylindrical and three hexagonal and semi-concave. A very beautiful feature of this chapter-house is the central pier, which has ten hexagonal semi-concave Purbeck shafts, banded midway up. A Decorated corbel for a statue will be noticed just above this band, on the east side. From this pier the vaulting ribs spread outwards to meet those from the lateral vaulting shafts, with bosses at the meeting of every rib. These lateral shafts, of three pillars, banded, come down in the angle between two sides (there are ten sides in all) and finish on corbels of conventional stiff foliage, prolonged downwards. These evidently gave the idea for the much richer treatment of the corbels to the vaulting-shafts in the Angel Choir. There are two large and lofty lancet windows in each of the sides, a blank arch filling up the interval between the window and the vaulting shaft: the arch is supported on the side nearest the window on a bell-shaped, moulded corbel. The windows contain the best modern glass in the cathedral, made by Messrs. Clayton and Bell, in memory of various cathedral dignitaries, such as the late Dean Blakesley, a friend of Tennyson's, 'scholarly Canon of Canterbury, and "Hertfordshire incumbent" of the Times'; Bishop Trollope (to whom archæology and ecclesiastical architecture in the diocese are much indebted); the brother Canons F. H. and Augustus Sutton, to whom much of the coloured glass in the nave is due; Sub-dean Mackenzie, first Bishop-Suffragan of Nottingham, and others.

Unfortunately in the recent restoration all the plaster was stripped off the vaulting ribs, and now the irregular stonework appears, as it certainly was never intended to do by its builders. The treatment of the great north transept vaulting is obviously right, and should have been followed in preference to

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Lincoln this method, which has the solitary advantage of showing that the vaulting is indeed of stone. The floor originally (till the recent restoration, when it was laid down flat) sloped upwards to the central pillar, on the east side of which may still be seen a large hole, supposed to be for the stem of the processional cross. The bishop's chair is original work up to the level of the arms, and has two rows of quatrefoils in front, a lion couchant on each arm (these have been restored). Behind them and on the outer sides are large eight-leaved open square flowers, with a four-leaved central cup. It may have been the bishop's chair in the choir, before the existing stalls were put up (the present bishop's throne is due to Essex in the eighteenth century), or it is quite possible, as Precentor Venables suggested, that it may have been a royal chair made to be occupied by some of the sovereigns who held Parliaments in this place and the city: the lions on the arms rather favour this latter idea. It has been restored with a canopy over it, but more probably it should have had a gabled back, like the coronation chair in Westminster Abbey. Besides the holding of Parliaments in this chapter-house, the trial of the Templars was held in 1300; and the late Sir Charles Anderson gave an account of a trial for murder held here in 1824, when the Assize Courts were being built. The prisoner was a 'chimney-sweep accused of a murder near Brigg: it was a long trial lasting till twilight, and as the shades of evening fell thicker and thicker on the vaults and arcades, the awful scene whilst the sentence of death was pronounced by the judge in his black cap, amidst the deepening gloom, can never be forgotten by those who witnessed it.' The chapter-house is now used for the annual meetings of the Diocesan Conference, and for meetings of other societies in the various spheres of

Church work in the diocese. The western front of the chapter-house is singularly plain, and might almost be called ugly. It presents a blank expanse of wall pierced by the large circular window already described, above which is a shallow arcade, crowned by three gables, the centre one having three lancet windows, and the side ones which cover the turret staircases one each. At each angle of the chapter-house is a vertical buttress, ornamented with filleted shafts and panels with pointed arches. These buttresses were at first finished with a gabled top, with a tuft of foliage at both ends of the ridge. The two westernmost still exist in this form, the others have had part of the gable removed and replaced by a Decorated pinnacle with profusely crocketed sides and finials. The plain Early English parapet has also in the same parts given way to an unpierced quatrefoil parapet, and the segmental arch between the buttresses and beneath the parapet is ornamented also. Between the heads of the lancet windows will be seen the lozenges to which allusion has been made previously. Whether owing to the weight of the lead roof, or the outward thrust of the vaulting, the buttresses began to give outwards, and can still be seen to slope quite distinctly away from the building. To check this movement enormously strong and solid buttresses were built, some distance from the chapter-house, and flying ribs to connect them with it, and so to counteract the thrust at the several angles.

The Nave—exclusive of the one remaining bay between the towers of the Norman nave, already described—consists of seven bays which are, practically speaking, as has been said above, all of the same date and in the same well-developed Early English style, of which it is a first-rate example, hardly to be equalled anywhere in the country for

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Lincoln the exceeding grace, lightness, and perfection of detail throughout. The arches are wide and of great beauty of moulding, the hood-moulding ending in corbel heads. The piers exhibit a charming diversity of plan and detail. On the north side the first from the east has a cluster of eight keeled shafts, of Purbeck marble, the capitals of stone having the upper foliage slightly interwoven. The second pier has a central square core, set diamond-wise, of Purbeck, with detached free circular shafts at the corners, and intermediate ones of stone. The pier is banded at about half its height. The capitals are perhaps the most graceful of all those in the nave, having delightful curves and more irregularity in the interwoven portions than in the last example, and so removing any trace of mechanical sameness. The third pier has four stone shafts at the corners, with intermediate Purbeck pillars all keeled or filleted. The capitals resemble those of the No. 1, but are not quite so regular. No. 4 is almost exactly the same as No. 3, with the difference that all the shafts (as well as the core) are Purbeck. The capitals are of much the same character, only rather more irregular. No. 5 has eight detached banded Purbeck shafts, set lozenge-wise, separated by small keeled shafts of stone which have capitals. Those of the larger shafts are very similar to those of No. 4. In No. 6 are found eight Purbeck pillars, keeled or filleted, the capitals much stiffer than hitherto; and in the westernmost pier, which has filleted stone pillars alternate with banded Purbeck shafts, the capitals resemble in their classical arrangement those of the piers in St. Hugh's Choir. On the south side the respond is similar, but the capitals have that stiff tied-knot character which has been noticed in describing the eastern transept. The first pier from the west, which we may call

No. 6, is the same as its fellow on the opposite side, but with the tendency to stiffness of foliage in the capitals which will be seen to distinguish all those of the south arcade. Nos. 5 and 4 are the same as on the north, No. 3 is like the northern No. 5, and No. 2, while similar to its fellow on the opposite side, has excessively stiff foliated capitals. No. 1 is practically the same as the north No. 1. The eastern responds, both north and south, have keeled shafts alternately Purbeck and stone, with rather more elaborate foliated capitals. The upper and moulded portions of all the bases throughout the nave are of Purbeck marble. The triforium has in each bay two large arches, with a cusped trefoil (in the second and fourth bay on the south side a quatrefoil) sunk, but not pierced through the wall in the spandril between them, and a corbel head where the hood-moulds join. Each arch covers three smaller and pointed sub-arches, divided from each other by three pillars, the capitals of these and the larger arches being free and foliated. The tympanum between the heads of the sub-arches and the circumscribing one is pierced with two cusped quatrefoils, above and between which is a much smaller quatrefoil, like a St. Andrew's Cross in shape and position of the arms. The clerestory has three lancet windows, of which the centre one is the widest, and three corresponding openings to the nave of sharply pointed arches richly ornamented with dog-tooth moulding, corbel heads at the termination and junction of the hood-moulding and supported on clustered shafts, banded and with foliated capitals of very similar character to those in the triforium. Where the vaulting meets the wall is a row of dog-tooth moulding. Considering this Early English Gothic, it is quite surprising how much light is admitted into the nave, as the proportion of

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Lincoln window to wall space is very considerable. The vaulting of the nave has seven ribs above and between each bay, which have bosses of foliage where they intersect the central longitudinal ribs, and the cross rib in each bay. They are carried down through the uppermost quarter of the triforium, to a capital of three slender vaulting shafts which end a little above the capitals of the piers in foliated corbels, several of which have a head at their apex. From MS. notes there would seem to have been painted on the vaulting the names of the artists employed: 'Helias Pictor, Walterus Brand, Wilhelmus Baldwin, Richardus de Ponte, Wilhelmus Paris, Robertus Saris,' but only the last but one is visible now as 'Wl: Paris:' on the south and close to the central boss of the second bay. Curiously enough, there is a marked difference of level between the bases of the piers of the arcades of the nave, that on the south being nearly a foot lower (this also applies to the seating or bench tables of the aisles about to be described). Apparently the original level of the north side of the nave and north transept was some nine inches higher than at present; a somewhat similar error prevails in St. Hugh's Choir and the north and south great transept, and it is difficult to say whether this is due to an early mistake or to the repavement of the church in the eighteenth century. The difference is made up in the arches, the piers being exactly the same height on both sides. The north aisle has a continuous arcading of trefoil-headed arches supported on three clustered shafts, which stand clear away from the wall. The vaulting shafts are composed of five detached pillars, with dog-tooth moulding running up between, and they have a restraining band about midway of their height. The central pillar below the band will be

noticed to be hexagonal and semi-concave. The shafts have a boldly projecting base, and stand quite clear of the arch. The intermediate vaulting shaft ends in a corbel above the string-course, which goes along below the level of the cills of the window. All the capitals in this aisle are bell-shaped and moulded, with the exception of those in the second vaulting shaft from the east, and of the intermediate shafts in the second, third, and fourth bays. The south aisle while exhibiting a general family likeness to that just described, has also some interesting points of difference. The arcade, for example, is not continuous, as it is interrupted by the vaulting shaft; its pillars are closely applied to the wall, the dog-tooth moulding ornaments the outer and inner edges of the arches, there is a continuous string-course at the level of the abaci of the capitals, and the terminations and junctions of the hood-moulding have bosses of foliage. The vaulting shafts show no dog-tooth between the pillars, they are attached to the wall, and there are none of the hexagonal semi-concave pillars noticed in the north. All the capitals and the corbels of the intermediate vaulting shafts have stiff, conventional foliage, except the capitals of the two shafts on each side of the lancet windows, which are moulded and bell-shaped. These pillars are banded twice. There are one or two other peculiarities of the nave which deserve attention. About one half of the bay next the central crossing will be seen to have been rebuilt in a style distinctly later than that of the nave, and similar to those insertions in St. Hugh's Choir and the great west transepts: due doubtless to the same cause—the fall of the central tower. In the north aisle, instead of the trefoil-shaped arcade, there are two sharp-pointed arches with foliage at the apex of one and at the

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Lincoln intersection of the hood-moulding, and with a string-course continuous from abacus to abacus. The pillars have fine free foliated capitals, are keeled with a central one hexagonal and semi-concave; on the eastern side a dog-tooth moulding runs up beside them, and there is no interval between the wall and the pillars. In the corresponding position on the south aisle there is a blank wall. In the triforium in the same bay, under the eastern circumscribing arch, there are only two sub-arches, rather broader than the others, and only one quatrefoil in the tympanum with the St. Andrew's Crosses on each side.

Another curiosity is noticeable in the case of the two western bays which are flanked by the western chapels on the north and south. In them the arches are contracted to be about 5 feet less across than the others to the eastward (21 feet 3 inches and 26 feet 6 inches, according to Mr. Penrose in his account of the proportions of the nave). This alteration, of course, extends to the triforium, where there are only two sub-arches beneath such larger one, and one quatrefoil in the tympanum in place of two. The capitals are of rather an earlier style in these two bays. In the clerestory the lancets and openings are of the same number as in the other bays, and hence are much narrower. The vaulting also is dropped 2 feet, being 78 feet high instead of 80 feet. The breadth of the nave is the same, however, *i.e.* 40 feet. There can be no question that the sharper pointed arches with their diminished spans are more graceful, and an improvement on the rest of the nave with its broader arches. The third fact is, that the axis of the nave does not hit the centre of the Norman nave and the west front, being a few feet to the southward. Now the axis of the great western transept is exactly at right angles to that of the

Norman west front, so that the divergence takes place in the axis of the nave alone. A certain amount of irregularity of the axis of nave and chancel has in many churches had a symbolical meaning, as Durandus says: 'The arrangement of a material church resembleth that of the human body: the Chancel, or place where the head is, representeth the head; the Transepts, the hands and arms, and the remainder towards the west, the rest of the Body.' So that an inclination of the axis of nave from that of the chancel, would typify the bending of our Lord's head on the Cross. Mr. Penrose thought that such a divergence of axis was purposed by the builders of the choir and nave here, but owing to shortness of funds, the Norman work at the west end was not cleared away as originally intended, and so the error was perpetrated. It is quite possible, however, that it was a simple mistake in setting out, not noticed at its commencement, and gradually growing worse as the building got to its western junction. Now, the loss of 11,000 marks in 1216 may have decided the question of retaining the Norman west front and towers in the affirmative, although against this idea is the strong probability of the chapels being in part the work of St. Hugh, which would show that the retention of the Norman work was determined at a much earlier date. Mr. Ayliffe Poole thought that the nave was built, probably, from west to east, and for this theory is the fact that the two western bays are distinctly a little earlier in style than the remaining five. If this indeed were the case, it is curious that the narrower bays were not commenced in the axis of the Norman bay, and that they were not continued on to the central crossing, and the nave would then have had eight bays instead of seven. Also, against this theory is the probability that a fairly

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Lincoln substantial portion of the nave must have been built at the east end to support the tower. Now the alterations at that end, which involve only half a bay, hardly justify his contention. They are not sufficient to have sustained the tower while the nave was advancing from the west, they are just those which one would expect in the rebuilding of damaged parts, and they are of the same date and style which have been noticed in the parts of the great transepts and St. Hugh's Choir, immediately adjacent to the central tower, which are associated with the time of Bishop Grosseteste. On the whole, the most probable solution of the difficulties enumerated is that the nave was built from east to west, and that when it had arrived at the western chapels, it was found to be impossible to join comfortably with them except by the expedient of making the two narrow bays. Somewhere about the time of the death of Bishop Hugh of Wells, *i.e.* in 1235, it is practically certain that St. Hugh's church was complete, with chancel, eastern transepts, western transepts, nave and chapter-house, presenting an almost unequalled example of early and fully developed Pointed (or Early English) Gothic.



LINCOLN FROM THE RIVER





The Angel Choir



## CHAPTER VII

FROM 1235 TO PRESENT DAY : THE ANGEL CHOIR AND  
COMPLETION OF THE BUILDING

‘Earth hath not anything to show more fair.’—WORDSWORTH.



THE MINSTER FROM S.-W.

ROBERT GROSSE-TESTE (or Great-head), who succeeded Bishop Hugh of Wells in 1235, was born of humble parentage, and educated at Paris and Oxford, where he was, according to the late Warden of Merton, ‘the foremost of Oxford teachers, the first theological lecturer of the Franciscans.’ This order he said ‘owed much to the powerful aid and patronage of Robert Grosseteste, the great scholastical

and ecclesiastical reformer of the thirteenth century. The fame of this remarkable man for scholarship as well as piety rests upon the universal testimony of his own and the succeeding age, including that of Roger Bacon. But it is only of late that his influence upon the University has been under-



Lincoln stood'; and Dr. Brodrick went on to say, 'that it was indeed an extraordinary chance which elevated such a man to the See of Lincoln, then possessing a prominent jurisdiction over the University of Oxford.'<sup>1</sup> One of the most popular of his writings seems to have been the translation from the Greek of the *Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs*, but he also wrote on philosophical topics, and commentaries on Aristotle. A strong man of great principle and moral courage, he was bound to come into conflict with much that was wrong in the Church. He consequently had a dispute about visitation with his Dean and Chapter, which was settled, successfully for him, after six years of controversy.

Probably during this time occurred the incident mentioned by Matthew Paris as follows:—'The Canons did not allow the Bishop to enter the Chapter or to make any visitation among them, and they openly declared before the Bishop himself that they were very sorry that they had created a Bishop out of such a mean person. A great dispute arose, and after no small useless expense on both sides an appeal was made to the presence of the Pope, and Master Odo de Kinkelny was appointed advocate on behalf of the Chapter. One day a remarkable circumstance occurred, as one of the canons, who favoured the cause of the Chapter, was preaching to the people in that noble building the Church of Lincoln, he laid a serious complaint before them all of the oppression of the Bishop; and uttered the words, "Even if we be silent, the stones will cry out," when as these words were pronounced a large portion of the church broke away and fell down.'<sup>2</sup> Later on in his history when

<sup>1</sup> *Epochs of Church History*. A History of the University of Oxford (Hon. G. C. Brodrick, 1886), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. Paris, vol. i. p. 164.

dealing with the same event, the same writer expressly states that it was the new tower which fell, 'when on a sudden the stone work of the new tower of the Church of Lincoln fell down, crushing the people under it; by the fall of which the whole church was shaken and injured, and this was taken as a sad omen: the Bishop, however, set to work to rebuild it effectually.'<sup>1</sup>

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Other authorities record this accident as happening in the year 1237: 'The destruction of the Church of Lincoln on account of the daringness (newfangledness Precentor Venables rendered it) of its building' (*Peterborough Chronicles*). 'Destruction was made of the Church of Lincoln in the Choir from the Dean's stall, so that three men were overthrown under the ruins; so that presently the Choir celebrated before the high altar the daily and nightly offices until the neighbouring pillars and arches were made strong' (*Annals of Dunstable*). Like Roger Bacon, Grosseteste was fabled to have made a brazen head, and the Monk of Bardney, who wrote his life, says:

'Dicunt vulgares, quod adhuc Lincolnia mater,  
In volta capitis fragmina servat ea' (i. 333).

Bishop Grosseteste died at his Manor of Buckden in the night of St. Denys's Day (October 9-10), 1253, according to Matthew Paris, who did justice to his memory after death, although he as a monk cannot have admired much of his actions when alive. His summary is not without interest: 'During his life he had openly rebuked the Pope and the King; had corrected the prelates, and reformed the monks; in him the priests lost a director, clerks an instructor, scholars a supporter, and the people a preacher; he

<sup>1</sup> Matt. Paris, vol. i. p. 253.

Lincoln had shown himself a persecutor of the incontinent, a careful examiner of the different Scriptures, a hammerer (*malleus*), and despiser of the Romans. He was hospitable and profuse; civil, cheerful, and affable at the table for partaking of bodily sustenance; but at that for spiritual nourishment devout, mournful, and contrite. In the discharge of his Pontifical duties, he was diligent, worthy of veneration, and indefatigable.<sup>1</sup> The same author also mentions that music was heard in the heavens, and noises of trumpets and bells heard in the sky on the night of the bishop's death. He was buried in the south-eastern transept, and had 'a goodly tomb of marble, with an image of brass over it.'<sup>2</sup> This has perished, and only a few fragments of the canopy are to be seen in the northernmost chapel of the north-eastern transept. Godwin further says: 'On account of the great and many miracles, and from the emanation of oil from his tomb, he was called in England "Saint Robert"'; though he was never formally canonised.

The passage already quoted, about the bishop having rebuilt the part of the cathedral which had fallen down, is the only piece of evidence in existence to connect this great, strong, and learned prelate with the material work of his cathedral. But, finding as we do, a particular kind of ornament, like lattice or trellis work, used in the great central tower, it is fair to conclude, and it goes hand-in-hand with tradition, that this lattice or trellis ornament marks Bishop Grosseteste's work wherever found in the building. To him then can be unhesitatingly assigned the structure of the great Broad or Rood Tower, as far as the two stories above the roof. It is supported on four most massive piers,

<sup>1</sup> Matt. Paris, vol. iii. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Godwin, p. 240.

composed of twenty-four shafts, alternately of Purbeck marble and Lincoln stone. The capitals are adorned with freely flowing and rich foliage. The lofty arches have the dog-tooth moulding on the outer and inner edges, and their spandrels are filled with the characteristic trellis-work, and leafage will be noticed on the apex of three arches. The lantern is composed of six narrow and tall lancets on each of the four sides, also showing the trellis-work between their heads, the vaulting shafts (which belong to John of Welbourne's date, about 1375), coming down in the middle of each side between each set of three, and ending in corbels. Above these is another set originally of four lancets, but altered at the time of the vaulting into eight. The trellis-work will be noticed above the windows of the tower outside on both levels, and there are free curving corbels running up between the pillars of the upper floor arcade. The tower in Grosseteste's time would end in a tall spire of wood covered with lead, and of this the stump of the central shaft or mast still remains in the floor of the belfry chamber. The details of the various reconstructions of the damaged parts of the choir, transepts, and nave have been already stated. Grosseteste's work also shows itself at the upper part of the Norman bay of the nave, on each side of the head of the great west window of the nave, which originally was composed of three lancets (the Early English pillars on either side will be noticed), and the beautiful wheel window above, which now contains a figure of Remigius. The upper portion of the west window has remains of old silvery glass in it.

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Another place where the trellis-work occurs is outside, over the southern circular window in the west front. This leads to a curious question : Did Bishop



Lincoln    Grosseteste at one time possess the idea of ending that chapel and its corresponding fellow on the north with a gable, keeping or altering the Norman gables over the nave aisles, and the smaller doorways, and altering and heightening the central gable? Thus he would have produced a west front of five gables, the three middle ones much higher than the two outside. However, if this plan was thought of, it was abandoned, and the existing panelled and arcaded screen-wall was erected, the two side Norman gables destroyed, the central recess heightened and given a pointed head, with a beautiful gable (taking the place of a Norman one) built over it, which has numerous niches for statues, now mostly empty, and has the familiar trellis-work, and the two angle turrets built—that to the north terminating in a figure of the Swineherd, of stone, blowing his horn (who was supposed to have given a hoard of silver pennies to the cathedral); that on the south (on which are some of the ugly lozenges already mentioned) in St. Hugh with a pastoral staff. The width of the screen is about 175 feet, and its height 80 feet. A Decorated parapet was afterwards added, and almost flamboyant panelling on the east side, and gablets to join over the upper tier of Norman arcading, the north and south Norman gables to the screen-wall.

To Grosseteste also may be ascribed the alteration in the south bay of the south-eastern transept, and the solid screens on the north and south of St. Hugh's Choir, which help no doubt to strengthen the arcades. And the two beautiful doorways into the choir aisles are due to him; they are perhaps as perfect specimens of the last period of Early English design and execution as it is possible to find. The boss of foliage with which the hood-moulding ends, the free and delightful wavy capitals, with sculptured

dragons, owls, and human figures in the midst of the foliage, and the wonderful undercut roll of foliage which forms one of the mouldings of the arch, are beyond praise. A curious chain of roses runs up between the second and third pillars, which are as usual of Purbeck marble. As with the internally crocketed piers in the choir aisles and eastern transepts, so a parallel from the same place can be given for these doorways. At Trondjhem Cathedral the splendid King's Entrance on the south side of the east end (which would date about 1248) bears a very close resemblance to these two 'beautiful gates of the Temple.'

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To Bishop Grosseteste succeeded Bishop Henry of Lexington (1254-1258), in whose time occurred the supposed murder and crucifixion of Little St. Hugh. Owing to the fame and reputation of St. Hugh (the bishop) and the many miracles wrought at his tomb, it was decided to take down and rebuild the east end of the cathedral, so as to make a spacious and worthy setting for his shrine. On November 5, 1255, consequently, King Henry III. writes to inquire whether any damage will be done to the Crown, if the city wall be removed, 'as the Dean and Chapter have sought a license to lengthen their Church eastwards, by removing the eastern wall of our City of Lincoln, which is athwart the said Church.' Next year (1256, July 19), King Henry issues the following letter. After the usual preamble, 'Know ye that we have granted and accepted the fortification and elongation of the walls which by our license and by the consent of our citizens of Lincoln, around the Church of Lincoln, has been made for the enlargement of the aforesaid Church, according to a provision agreed upon by both sides, between the Dean and Chapter of that Church and the citizens

Lincoln aforesaid.' This wall in plans has been placed a little eastward of the present east end of the cathedral, and was probably built soon after the Roman east wall was destroyed. Its place in the scheme of the city defences would be in later years taken by the whole of the eastern side of the close wall, which was erected some thirty or forty years later. Bishop Henry of Lexington was succeeded by Bishop Richard de Gravesend (1258-1279), in whose time probably the greater part of the new east end was built. At all events, in the first year of his successor, Bishop Oliver Sutton (1280-1299) the new Presbytery, afterwards called the 'Angel Choir,' was sufficiently advanced in building to receive the body of St. Hugh translated to a magnificent and gorgeous shrine behind the High Altar. The *Peterborough Chronicle* gives an account of the proceeding as follows: 'On St. Faith the Virgin's Day' (October 6, 1280) 'was translated the body of St. Hugh the Bishop, in the eightieth year from the day of his being laid to rest' (1200, October 17), 'at whose translation were present the Lord King, and the Queen, with their children; also the Lord Archbishop, with seven bishops, and six abbots, and a very large multitude of people, seeking the protection of the aforesaid Saint. In whose tomb was found no small quantity of oil, and through its merits very many miracles were performed at that spot, the same day Master Thomas Bek was consecrated to the Bishopric of St. David's.' In the annals of St. David's Cathedral Thomas Bek is related to have been consecrated on the 6th of October, in the year 1280, at Lincoln. Another interesting detail about Bishop Bek comes from Leland's *Collectanea*, i.e. that he is credited with having personally borne all the expenses of the translation of St. Hugh, and this is supported by a

York chronicler, Stubbs, who, in describing the translation of St. William of York on January 9, 1284, says that Antony Bek, elected and confirmed Bishop of Durham, undertook all the labour and cost of the said translation, expressly adding, 'just as Master Thomas, his brother, had formerly done, with regard to the translation of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln.'<sup>1</sup> These two brothers were sons of Walter Bek, of Eresby, and brothers of the first baron of that place, Antony being also famous for having built Somerton Castle, near Lincoln, in which King John of France was confined as prisoner.

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The new east end, Presbytery, or Angel Choir, consists of five bays, of which two are occupied by the ritual choir, and the remaining three by the Presbytery or retrochoir. The piers are alike in both the north and south aisles, and may be grouped as follows, beginning at the east end. The respond on the eastern wall has three and two half-keeled shafts of Purbeck marble. The first pier is composed of eight keeled pillars of Purbeck marble, banded about half-way up. The second has eight keeled stone pillars, with eight small cylindrical Purbeck pillars alternating, and a Purbeck band round the whole lot. The third is on the same plan as No. 1, and the fourth and fifth identical with No. 2. The Purbeck capitals have stiff stems freely curving as before, and are very richly wrought. It is perhaps doubtful if they show to quite such advantage as those of Lincoln stone, in which the play of light and shade is not masked so much by the colour and tone of the material in which they are carved. The upper portions of all the bases are in Purbeck marble. The heads at the endings of the hood-mouldings

<sup>1</sup> Ayliffe Poole, *Assoc. Archit. Societies' Reports and Papers*, vol. iv. p. 41.



Lincoln deserve notice, being very finely carved. The outer moulding is curious, a kind of exaggerated open dog-tooth, placed sideways, forming a zigzag. In the spandrils are large unpierced trefoils with tufts of foliage at the points of the cusps.

The triforium has in each bay two rather wide arches, of which the hood-moulding ending in carved heads is peculiar. A tuft of foliage occurs every few inches between two strongly marked lines, and looks at a distance rather like the links of a chain. Each arch, receding in two orders, is supported on four pillars on each side, of which the three outermost are separated by a vertical series of crocketlike tufts of foliage. The capitals are distinguished by free and lavish foliage. Each arch circumscribes two sub-arches, which have open cusps internally. Above and between the heads of the two sub-arches is a circle containing a quatrefoil with open-work cusping. The sub-arches rest on piers of three pillars, of which the capitals are even more rich and beautiful. In the spandrils of the triforium arches are the angels which have given the popular name to this part of the cathedral. Each bay contains one space which is filled by a central figure with outspread wings, and two half-spaces on each side filled with figures with only one wing outspread, so making a group of three. Beginning from the east, on the north side they are as follows: an angel reading a scroll, the central angel holding up the sun and moon in either hand, and an angel playing on a harp. In the second bay comes an angel with a palm-branch and scroll, the central one playing on a viol, and the third on a lute. In the third bay an angel is intently gazing at a double roll of a book held in both hands wide apart, the central figure is holding up two mural crowns, and the third has a scroll in one hand and a

palm-branch in the other. In the fourth bay is an angel full of life and action swinging a censer; the central figure—holding up two fingers of the right hand in blessing—is weighing souls, the good resting gently in the lap, while the wicked—weighing so little—have upset the scale, and are falling down helter-skelter to destruction. The third or left-hand figure is evidently intended for our Lord, as He is showing His wounded side with one hand, and blessing with the other. On His left is a small kneeling angel, presenting a tiny figure, emblematic of a soul, to Him. In the fifth bay, an angel is holding a spear in one hand, and perhaps the reed moistened with vinegar in the other; the central angel, stern and terrible of aspect, realising certainly in part Milton's tremendous line—

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‘ With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms,’

has a drawn sword in his right hand, while the left pushes Adam and Eve<sup>1</sup> out of Paradise. The third angel bears the crown of thorns.

On the south side, again beginning from the east, the first angel has a scroll in the right hand; the central figure is crowned and is playing on a harp (probably intended for King David); and the third angel has an extended scroll. The second bay contains an angel blowing a single trumpet, the middle one shows a long scroll, and the third holds a scroll with both hands, the arms extended. The third bay has an angel blowing a double trumpet, the angel in the middle is blowing on a pipe and tabret, and the third has a book with a band round it, clasped to the breast with the left hand, while the right hand is

<sup>1</sup> As in the case of the small angel and our Lord, the discrepancy in size is probably intentional between our first parents and this guardian angel.

Lincoln raised. Beneath the feet of the two latter angels are monsters with large heads and distorted bodies and limbs, in place of the clouds in which most of the other figures rest.

In the fourth bay the first angel is reading a wavy scroll; the central one, whose seat ends in a horn on either side, holds a lure with a falcon on it, and the third is looking downwards at a roll open in both hands; all these have again monsters beneath their feet.

The fifth bay has an angel holding a book, and pointing to part of it with two fingers of the left hand, beneath the feet is a monster with the head of an ox; the central figure has a little figure between the hands (a human soul?), towards which the angel gazes; while the third—a very beautiful and touching subject—is the Virgin Mary, trampling on a monster, our Lord standing on her knee, touching her bosom with one hand, and with the other drawing back her veil; a small angel on the left, kneeling on one knee, with outspread wings, swings a censer towards the Mother and Child. It is probable that the whole of this sculpture was originally coloured and gilt, as traces of diaper are distinctly visible beneath the wing of the angel holding the two crowns in the centre of the third bay on the north side.

The late C. R. Cockerell, R.A., gave a somewhat fanciful explanation of this great series, for which he entertained a profound admiration, and for the 'vigour, freshness, and originality of idea which abounds in them. . . . The artist dealt with his subject and material with all the originality and freedom of a master.'<sup>1</sup>

Messrs. Prior and Gardner consider that there were at least three sculptors at work on these reliefs, those

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln Volume, Archæological Institute (1848), pp. 215-240.

placed most easterly being much poorer and more commonplace. 'The first of these persons (responsible for six of the angels on the north side) may have been the sculptor of the eleven angels in the eastern bays, who, after the interval, continued his work with greater skill and under a new inspiration. That inspiration we can scarcely doubt to have been derived from the sculptor of the great angels' (the central angel with pipe and tabret of the third south bay, the central angel regarding a human soul of the fifth south bay, and the central angel with Adam and Eve of the fifth north bay).

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'But side by side with them both was another fine sculptor (or possibly there were two), whose art was not so stern and intellectual, but graceful and plastic' (the artist of our Lord in the fourth bay on the north, and of the flanking figure in the fifth bay on the south), 'and his masterpiece must be allowed to be the "Madonna."'

On the three great angels already mentioned they remark as follows: 'It is the character, mystic and intense, breathed into these reliefs which has established the reputation of the Lincoln angels as some of the most remarkable of mediæval works in sculpture. The concentration and dignity of the intellectual expressions, and the sure touch shown in the technique of their sculpture, give the figures a distinction which it is difficult to match elsewhere.'<sup>1</sup>

In the clerestory, as Precentor Venables remarked (p. 59), 'The treatment of the windows is repeated on the plane of the inner face of the wall, forming a perforated screen which adds much to the gorgeous effect of the building.' On either side of the arch in each bay is a blank pointed arch, with stone pillars, the

<sup>1</sup> 'English Mediæval Figure-Sculpture,' E. P. Prior and A. Gardner, *Architectural Review*, vol. xiii. pp. 149-151.



Lincoln only use of stone pillars in this clerestory. Beneath the large arch are four small arches on three piers which have three pillars each. These arches support two circles with open cusped trefoils and a larger arch. This, with a fellow, support a large circle with eight foils, open cusps, and bunches of foliage at the apex of each cusp.

Around the edge of the outside containing arch is a curious ribbed moulding, something like the edge of a saw, or the multiple chevron mouldings of a Norman arch. The five vaulting ribs spread out between each bay from a point a little above the springing of the triforium arches, to meet their fellows from the opposite side at the middle longitudinal rib; at each junction a fine boss of sculptured foliage is placed. The vaulting shafts, from the abacus of which the ribs start, have exquisitely rich foliated stone capitals, and consist of five keel-shaped Purbeck marble pillars. These run down, passing through a band of the boldly projecting string-course below the triforium level, to an elongated corbel of crocketed foliage—a development, apparently, of that already described in the chapter-house. The corbel on the north-eastern pier ends in the cross-legged, wide-mouthed, and prominently eared elf who is so familiar to all visitors as ‘The Lincoln Imp.’

As in the chapter-house, so here, it is a great pity that the rough and jumbled stonework of the vaulting was not covered again with plaster as in the restored great north transept. The present condition, owing to the darker colour of the stone, makes the lowness of the vaulting more apparent than ever. It is to be hoped that this precedent will no more be followed in the restoration of other parts of the building.

Angel Choir (Choir aisles). A graceful but not con-

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tinuous arcade runs round this portion of the choir. In each bay this consists of three richly moulded arches, with heads or bosses of foliage at the termination or intersection of the hood-mould, the spandrils being filled with a circle enclosing a trefoil (the two outer ones), and a trefoil on the two middle ones. Groups of three clustered Purbeck marble pillars have handsome knops of leafage running up crocketwise between them, and capitals of free conventional foliage. Beneath each arch are two sub-arches, having a circle and enclosed quatrefoil in the tympanum, each sub-arch being cusped internally, and being supported on a single pillar of Purbeck, in which material the abaci throughout are carved. The points of the cusps of the trefoils, quatrefoils, and cusping of the

Lincoln    sub-arches have been used by the sculptor as points of vantage to exhibit his skill in the creation of exquisite little heads or sprigs of leafage of the most delicate and charming description.

Each bay has one window of three lights above the prominent string-course, with cinquefoiled head, two circles cinquefoiled, and a third, the apex, quatrefoiled. The space between the arch of the window and the curve of the vaulting is filled in with admirable foliage, which gives a very rich effect. The vaulting shafts intercept the arcade as they are attached to the wall, and carried down to the floor on a stilted base. Each shaft has seven cylindrical pillars, of which three are of Purbeck marble. The capitals, in stone, are very fine, with rich clustering and curling foliage. The windows at the east end of both north and south aisles are fortunately filled with old glass, which is of much beauty. The manner in which it is outlined, so to speak, by a narrow rim of white next to the stonework is very successful. Some of the lower lights contain medallions of scenes from the life of St. Hugh, and are of Early English date. In the principal tracery lights are three small circles emblematic of the months of March, April, and July, which are in the Perpendicular style. The great east window is possibly the finest specimen of its kind in England. The general design is on the same lines as the triforium and clerestory windows in this Angel Choir, only of course on a much larger scale. The head of the window is filled with a large circle containing six smaller circles with a quatrefoil in each, with open cusps and a central one of sixfoil, in which our Lord is represented in glory. This large circle is supported on two arched openings, each of which contain a circle with six small circles in it and a central one, which has in the north our Lord's

Resurrection, and on the south His Ascension. Each second circle in its turn is supported by two arched openings, which each have a quatrefoil in its head containing a representation of the emblems of the four evangelists. Supporting each quatrefoil are two very lofty and slender arched lights, making the total number of these to be eight. In these lights will be noticed twenty-eight roundels arranged in the form of a cross, which contain our Saviour's Death, Passion, some of His miracles, and passages from His life, illustrative of His divine character and mission. The general design was intended to display the doctrine of the Atonement. The window is from the well-known firm of Messrs. Ward and Hughes, and while excellent in detail and workmanship, unfortunately suffers from a predominance of a purplish blue. The capitals to the pillars between the vertical lights are freely foliated, and three rows of crocketed foliage run up between the pillars on each side of the window.

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Bishop Sutton (as will be particularly noted later on) did not rest satisfied with the completion of the Angel Choir. He is responsible for the erection of the little church of St. Mary Magdalene just outside the west end of the cathedral, for the parish whose parish church had been destroyed to build the cathedral itself. He also built a college for the Vicars Choral, and in the last few years of his life erected the Cloisters. According to John de Schalby he himself contributed fifty marks to the work. These can be dated with some accuracy, as in a letter of the Bishop to the Dean (Philip de Willoughby) he speaks of the completion of the north wall as necessary to be built on that of the Dean's stables. The cloisters are approached by a vaulted alley of the same date (probably the original way to



Lincoln the chapter-house was under a penthouse or lean-to roof) wherein was buried Elizabeth Penrose, the 'Mrs. Markham' once well known to juvenile students of English history. The cloisters are vaulted in wood, the bosses and ribs being the original ones carved in oak. The bosses have some of the most charmingly artistic work in the cathedral: a Virgin and Child, with the latter stroking a dove; the enthronement of the Virgin Mary; our Lord seated in an attitude of blessing; a mitred bishop (possibly Oliver Sutton) seated, besides several representations of the months, a solemn long-eared rabbit, and a calf scratching its chin with its right hind foot. The roof is covered with lead, and must have been too heavy for the walls, as buttresses were added between every second window. These have been removed at the recent restoration, when the lower parts of the windows which were closed up, perhaps for strength, were opened out once more. The windows are large and handsome, and consist of a circle in the head containing three pointed trefoils with pointed ends, and three with round ends. This is supported on two pointed arches, each of which has a pointed ended quatrefoil in the head. This again rests on two pointed arches with open cusps. The foliage of the capitals is naturalistic. Among the tombstones in the cloisters, none probably is more interesting than that of Richard de Gainsborough or Stow. It is inscribed 'Hic jacet Richardus de Gaynisburgh olim cementarius istius ecclesiae qui obiit duodecim Kal. Jan. A.D. MCCC—.' He was one of the sculptors and builders of the Eleanor Crosses, and was, as will be seen presently, the master-builder of the upper part of the Broad Tower. Only three sides of the cloisters remain as they were, the north side having fallen into ruin. In Bishop Alnwick's visitation in

1437 it is expressly charged against the Dean (Macworth) that he had converted the stones of the cloister into a stable for horses, which was reckoned to be sacrilege by many doctors.<sup>1</sup> Again he is charged with actually pulling down the north wall of the cloisters ('murum claustrum borealem dilapidando').<sup>2</sup> On this site in 1674 Sir Christopher Wren erected the existing Library on an arcade of nine round-headed arches supported by eight Doric columns. It consists of one long room with eleven windows on the south side, one at the west end, and an elaborately ornamented entrance doorway with semicircular pediment, in which are the arms of the Dean, Michael Honeywood, *i.e.* a chevron between three falcons' heads erased. He built the Library at his own expense and presented it with a number of books which he had acquired in Holland. Wren placed a continuous bookcase along the north wall, from floor to ceiling, with oblong tablets at intervals for the names of the subjects beneath them. A new staircase has lately been built up to the Library. The old Library occupied the northern half of the east wall of the cloisters, and dates from about 1419-1426. It had originally five bays, but the two southern ones were destroyed in 1789. It is constructed of timber, and has a fine fifteenth-century oak roof. It now forms a kind of vestibule of Wren's Library. Several of the desks have been used for chained books, 107 of which are catalogued in the year 1450; of these 77 can be identified now.<sup>3</sup> The most interesting contents of the Library are the contemporary copy of Magna Charta; rings, chains, and patens from the tombs of various bishops; the

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<sup>1</sup> *Linc. Cathedral Statutes*, Bradshaw-Wordsworth, part ii. p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 413.

<sup>3</sup> For much of the information here collected, I am indebted to *The Care of Books*, J. Willis Clark (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 276-277.

Lincoln leaden plate of a D'Eyncourt, a relation of William the Conqueror. Several Caxtons have been within these walls, but, alas! were charmed away by the bibliographer Dibdin, who celebrated his captured prize in a book called *A Lincoln Nosegay*.

The solid stone choir screen, organ screen, or 'Pulpitum,' stretches across the entrance to the choir between the eastern piers of the central crossing. Its height from the floor of the nave to the top of the parapet is 17 feet. The western front of the screen consists of a central canopied archway having four recessed tabernacles, with rich oggee canopied arches, groined continuously, on each side, separated by detached buttressed piers. The wall behind is covered with diaper, and subdivided by a shelf enriched with leafage below. There are still remains of colour and gilding. Three steps lead up to a doorway, from which a passage, with flat ceiling and skeleton vaulting (reminding one of similar work in the screen at Southwell), gives entrance into the choir. On the left, *i.e.* on the north side of this passage, opening by double doors which have some excellent examples of original ironwork upon them, is a broad staircase leading to the loft above. Just at the entrance to the staircase is the door on the west side of a dark recess with an aumbry. This staircase also has a flat ceiling and skeleton rib-vaulting, and has, on emerging above, a corbel table charmingly carved with rich foliage, forming a kind of edge to the hatchway on three sides. On the south or right-hand side of the central passage is a small room with solid vaulting lighted by a square window looking into the south choir aisle guarded by original iron bars. On the south side also of the screen there is a second stair, leading to the loft formed in the thickness of the screen-wall of the first

bay of the south choir aisle, lighted by a pierced quatrefoil, and approached by a small ogee-headed archway, to be reached by a short step-ladder. This, it has been stated, was for the custodian of the choir, and from its small size could never have been used by fully vested ministers. The eastern side of the screen is covered by the return stalls, and over the entrance there is a projection, also of wood, of half-polygonal shape, and of much the same date as the choir stalls themselves. This projection is coved, and some of the ribs run down to the stone doorway, but it is curiously and mainly supported by horizontal beams running westwards from the projection for half their length over the floor of the loft, and bolted through that floor at their western ends. Four uprights pass downwards from the floor of the projection, two of them to the floor of the choir, while two are stopped by responds at each side of the stone doorway. It is noteworthy that this doorway has a deep moulding running round the arch, with traces of colour, a finishing touch evidently intended to be seen before the woodwork of the stalls was placed in front of it. It may here be mentioned that the date of the stone screen has been generally considered to be about 1320, and that of John of Welbourn's stalls about 1380. On reaching the loft a broad seat of stone extends the whole length of it on the western side, above that a broad band of elegant diaper-work, surmounted by a parapet pierced with trefoils alternately erect and inverted, and finished with a battlemented cresting. The eastern face of the loft is guarded by a coped wall of about the same height as that just mentioned, *i.e.* about 4 feet. In the middle, for about 8 feet, this wall is cut away down to the level of the floor of the projection over the eastern doorway in order to give access to that floor. As

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Lincoln already mentioned, the joists of this floor (the floor-boarding itself probably only dates from 1826) lead backwards, *i.e.* westwards, over a beam laid in the wall north and south, and in their completed state would form a half-octagonal platform 2 feet higher than the stone floor of the loft. On each side of the break in the parapet wall were found, in the course of the alterations in the organ and organ-case, three stone steps. They are broken across and removed towards the middle of the space, but they have evidently formed part of the half-octagon, as the stone floor of the loft within the mark made by completing the figure is of a different colour from that outside. These steps, then, have obviously led up to the complete polygon, half within the wooden projection and half westward of it, over the floor of the loft, and they are much worn with use. The interior of the projection is original work, and it is interesting to find in Wild's plate, published in 1819 before the changes in the organ, that it is boarded round and finished with a plain moulding. Probably there was a desk running round the inside. There are still two stone book-rests in a like projection on the stone choir-screen in Tattershall Collegiate Church, Lincolnshire, and there are two on the edge of the eastern parapet of the jubé of Sion Cathedral Church, in the Rhone Valley. As in parochial rood-lofts, so in those of conventual or collegiate churches, altars were not uncommon on the rood-loft itself. In the Dean's Guide to Westminster Abbey mention is made of a second Jesus Altar (the first being on the floor of the nave) in the rood-loft, from which on certain days the Epistles and Gospels were read. In 1400 Lady Johanna, late wife of Sir Donald de Hesilrigg, bequeaths 'To the convent of the house of Gysburgh in Clyveland one vestment of camaca to

serve in the *pulpit* there, and one chalice of silver gilt.' In York Minster there was an altar in the loft ('in solario') before the image of St. Saviour in the south part of the church, founded in 1475-76 by Richard Andrew, Dean of York. An inventory also exists, of the date 1543, of the belongings of the 'altare nominis Jhesu in the ruddle loft' in the same church. Unless the stone steps and the platform just described were for an altar in the Lincoln loft, which probably was not the case, as it would block out all access to the projection, there are no signs of any altar having been on the rood-loft here. In a description of these single solid screens (as distinguished from the double ones which are described at Durham, and which existed at Fountains and Bolton, Dunster, and still exist at Norwich) of conventual, collegiate, and cathedral churches in the Associated Architectural Societies' Reports for 1890, they were divided into two classes. The first division has altars on the western front, on either side the central doorway. Exeter, Tattershall, not to mention Louvain, Lierre, and Aerschot, are examples of this class. The second division, among which was classed the Lincoln screen, has no traces of altars on the western front, and other examples may be found at York, Ripon, and Wells. It is doubtful whether there have not been side-altars at Southwell. Canon Christopher Wordsworth, in the introduction to the second part of the *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, says there was a rood-altar ('Sanctae Crucis') under the lantern, either on the screen over the door or before the entrance of the choir. He also adds: 'There was, *circa* 1520-1536, a "Jhesus Mass"; but whether this involved a special Jesus Altar I cannot say.' And again: 'Holy rood or altar of St. Cross, which may have stood on the quire-screen.' An altar with this

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Lincoln title appears to have existed in the time of Matthew Paris, *circa* 1250, as he says that Remigius was buried in front of it: and further, 'in prospectu altaris Sanctae Crucis' are Giraldus Cambrensis' own words relating to the same event. Therefore, as the Minster was partly used as the parish church of St. Mary Magdalene, on whose site it was built, and a priest was deputed by the Dean and Chapter to minister sacraments and sacramentals to the parishioners, 'in certo loco ipsius ecclesiae Cathedralis,' till Bishop Oliver Sutton erected the church on its present site in Exchequer Gate, it is probable that there was a Jesus Altar for parochial purposes, and a rood-screen across the western piers of the lantern, or even further west in the nave. In this connection the description of the rood-screen at the entrance of the choir given in the Metrical Life of St. Hugh is of much interest. It was almost certainly written between the years 1220 and 1235.

*De crucifixo et tabulâ aureâ in introitu chori.*

'Introitumque chori majestas area pingit :  
Et propriè propriâ crucifixus imagine Christus  
Exprimitur, viteque suae progressus ad unguem  
Insinuatur ibi. Nec solum crux vel imago,  
Immo columnarum sex, lignorumque duorum  
Ampla superficies, obrizo fulgurat auro.'

(ll. 950-955.)

On which the late Precentor Venables remarked :  
'The meaning is not free from obscurity, but we see that the rood-screen consisted of six pillars, three, we may suppose, on either side the entrance to the quire, supporting two beams on which stood the crucifix, the whole being gilt.'

This, then, may have been the screen on which the rood stood. Abroad, as can be seen at the present day (*e.g.* at Louvain, St. Pierre), it frequently stands

upon the screen itself. In other cases it may be supported by a beam above the screen. At Christchurch, Canterbury, in Lanfranc's time, we learn from Gervase that above the loft and placed across the church was the beam which sustained the great cross, two cherubim, and the images of St. Mary and St. John the Apostle. At Exeter Cathedral Church the rood stood on a separate bar of iron high above the screen, and was erected in 1324 after the screen was finished. The rests for it, cut out of the narrow arches on either side, were brought into view recently. At Nuremberg the same arrangement prevails, or prevailed. At Winchester Cathedral Church the second easternmost bay of the nave from the chancel-screen was occupied by a rood-loft, on which stood the 'Magna crux cum duabus imaginibus sc. Mariae et Johannis et illas cum trabe vestitas auro et argento copiose,' etc., made and set up by Bishop Stigand (1047-1070). On our Lord's head was put Canute's crown. At Glastonbury we read of William de Taunton, abbot (1322-1335), making 'the front of the choir with the curious stone images where the crucifix stood.' Also at St. Edmundsbury, in the earliest part of the thirteenth century, Hugh the sacrist, 'pulpitum in ecclesia aedificavit, magna cruce erecta cum imaginibus beatae Mariae et sancti Johannis,' showing the close connection between the rood and the loft. In Worcester Cathedral Church there are stone brackets for the rood-beam on the western pillars of the lantern, 28 feet from the floor of the nave. No traces of the rood-beam have been found in Lincoln Cathedral.

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In the Hereford *Consuetudines* one of the duties of the treasurer was to keep three lamps burning day and night, one of which was 'in pulpito ante crucem.' The same officer was ordered in the *Liber Niger* of Lincoln,



Lincoln 'Minutam etiam candelam invenire thessaurarius in choro et in pulpito et alibi in ecclesia quandocumque necesse fuerit,' the eastern use differing from the western on the score of economy! There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the projection and platform already described was the one from which the Gospel and Epistle were read or intoned, and other portions of the pre-Reformation services sung or said. The author of the *Rites of Durham* speaks of the pair of organs that 'did stand over the Quire dore' in the eastern screen, and says there (*i.e.* in the same loft) 'was also a LETTERNE of wood like unto a pulpit standinge and adjoyninge to the wood organs, over the Quire dore, where they had wont to singe the nine lessons in the old time on principall dayes, standinge with their faces towards the High Altar.' The description of the lectern would do well for Lincoln. No doubt there were variations in what was read, sung, or chanted from the rood-loft in different dioceses and different churches. The *Liber Niger* has the following direction: 'Unde incepto "Jube domine benedicere" none leccionis dabit ille benediccionem qui propinquior fuerit dignitate, et iste modus servetur omni tempore nisi ita sit quod omnes canonici sint absentes. tunc suus clericus incipiet "Jube" et cetera et ipsemet lector dicat benediccionem. Deinde leget.' From this custom, especially in France, the gallery over the screen obtained the name of Jubé. In the *Liber Niger* we find the following references to the use of the rood-loft:

'Gloria ergo incepta: Eat principalis subdiaconus in *pulpitum* per dexteram partem chori subdiacono (secundario interlined) librum portante precedente, Unde si contingat leccionem aliquam precedere sicut in natali domini sive in septimana Pentecostes iiij<sup>or</sup>

temporum; secundus subdiaconus leget, et sacerdos cum suis ministris dicet epistolam et Gradale et Alleluia et sequenciam et hijs dictis eat ad suum sedile et ibi dicet oraciones. Lecta epistola *in pulpito* recedet subdiaconus principalis ex sinistra parte chori socio suo prenotato precedente et librum portante,' etc. The following passage has against it in the margin, 'De modo eundi ad evangelium *in magno pulpito*': 'Et preparent se omnes ministri altaris ad eundum pro evangelio lecturo scilicet iij diaconi et iij subdiaconi Principalibus diacono et subdiacono textus portantibus et ij turiferarij et ij ceroferarij et ij clerici pueri ferentes cruces et hij omnes per chorum exeant. Set in eundo ad evangelium diaconi ire debent ex parte dextra chori. precedentibus uno turiferario et ceroferario et una cruce et subdiaconi ex sinistra precedentibus uno thuriferario et ceroferario cum cruce, unde incepto evangelio stabunt coram diaconis subdiaconi omnes et clerici cruces portantes principali subdiacono portante textum ante pectus. Lecto evangelio ibunt ad altare modo contrario quia diaconi ibunt ex parte sinistra et subdiaconi ex parte dextra. Unde semper quando aliquis vel aliqui venient *in pulpitu magnum* ad legendum evangelium sive epistolam sive expositionem venient in dextra et recedant in sinistra et dabit sacerdoti evangelium ad osculandum,' etc. Again: 'completorium pulsatur,' in a given way, 'unde sciendum quod quando iij cantant ad lectrinam in choro sive *in magno pulpito*. . . . Nota quod quandocumque canonicus leget sive cantet *in magno pulpito* sive in choro sequetur eum ministrando vicarius sive clericus in habitu nigro nisi chorus capis induatur sericis.' Later, *i.e.* in 1226, are directions for the choir to face the altar whilst the Gospel is being read at the altar, we may presume, for the next sentence runs thus: 'et dum legitur

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Lincoln *in pulpito* debet chorus se convertere ad lectorem evangelij donec evangelium perlegatur.' Dr. Hopkins says, speaking of the projecting gallery, that 'This position . . . was in subsequent times occupied by the quire organ.' There seems but little doubt that the principal organ, if the church possessed more than one, was usually placed on the rood-loft, and the smaller one in the choir. There was an organ as late as Hollar's time over the 'Den' in the fourth bay of the north side of the choir at Lincoln. By the extracts already quoted from the *Rites of Durham*, there were evidently a pair of organs (meaning one complete organ) on the *pulpitum* there; and from Henry VI.'s 'owne avyse' we learn that it was expressly ordered that the Eton College rood-loft should also serve as an organ gallery. Among the many interesting items in the accounts of Louth Steeple, dating from 1501-1518, is this: 'For setting up the Flemish organ in the Roodloft by four days . . . xxd.' So that the present position of several of our cathedral organs (while fully justified by convenience and æsthetic satisfaction as being thoroughly Gothic) is only a survival of a very tolerably ancient practice. (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, Lond. 1898.)

In 1311 a fee of twenty shillings was paid to Thomas de Ledenham, Vicar, for taking care of the organs, blowing and cleaning them. Playing the organ, 'cuilibet cantancium organum,' 'trahenti organa,' is mentioned in 1322 in the Black Book already quoted from. In 1434 mass in the chapel of the Virgin Mary (probably in St. John the Baptist's Chapel, immediately under the great east window) was daily sung with organ accompaniment. A note in the Chapter Acts six years previously (1428) confirms this view, 'concerning the organs of the

church. It is ordered for newly bought organs in the chapel of Saint John the Baptist where the daily mass of the blessed Mary the Virgin is sung, and for the repair of the old organs in the greater choir, that ix pounds should be paid.' On the 10th September 1442 an order was given about 'the new organs in the great choir, which were to be made in the best possible manner. Five marcs were to be paid on this account to one Arnald, "Organor" of the City of Norwich.' On October 14, in the year before Robert Patryngton is commissioned to find with all speed 'a scientific man' who has skill to make the new organs in Lincoln choir. In 1446 J. Tyryngton 'was admitted to the Vicars Prebendal stall of North Kelsey in the choir to the exercise and care of the organs in the choir aforesaid.' In 1473 a certain organ-builder who had built a new organ in the cathedral had lived for half a year in Atton Place. Canon Christopher Wordsworth considers that the terms *organizacio* *organizare* apply apparently to vocal music at the lectern in choir at the end of evensong and lauds. Canon Maddison mentions that one of the vicars received a fee as late as 1536 for playing the organ at the 'Jesus Mass.' In 1570 the organist was directed to set the tune before the commencement of the *Te Deum*, and the canticle of Zachary at Morning Prayer, and at Evening Prayer before the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*. As Canon Maddison points out, this direction is still carried out almost to the letter on Friday mornings. The organist at this time (from 1563 to 1572), William Byrd, was one of the most distinguished musicians of the sixteenth century. He was afterwards organist of the Chapel Royal, and composed much church music, the earliest English madrigals, etc. A successor, John Wanlesse (in 1616), produced a Litany

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Lincoln called by his name which is still extant in MSS., and was sung up to about 1850. In 1635 a pension of forty shillings a year was given to Thomas Coats of Stamford for repairing and keeping in tune the organs in the church. In a presentment in 1664 one of the Poor Clerks was accused of not having 'performed his duty of reading the Litany. By a custom of long standing the invocation, etc., of the Litany are sung by two Junior (or Lay) Vicars, kneeling at a long stool placed over the ancient stone inscribed *cantate hic.*' This is mentioned in the Black Book (p. 395), 'supra petram marmoriam in qua scribitur canite hic.' To which a note is added: 'Cantate, petra in choro hodie reservata.'<sup>1</sup>

In 1702, August 27, when John Reading, composer of 'Adeste Fideles,' was organist, an agreement was made with Gerard Smith for repairing and moving the organ. From 1703 to 1714 one of the senior vicars was the Rev. Luke Flintoft, the composer of one of the best of minor double chants. From 1704 to 1721 the organist was George Holmes, known as the composer of an anthem and of an ode for St. Cecilia's Day. His setting of the burial sentences is still sung in the cathedral at funerals. In 1729 the organ was again repaired. According to Hollar's plate, the space above the 'Den' in the third bay on the north side of St. Hugh's Choir was occupied by the organ. The present one was originally built by Allen in 1826, the case being designed by E. J. Wilson: in 1898 it was thoroughly repaired and extended, at the cost of over £5000, by Willis, the celebrated organ-builder. It is a four-manual instrument of great power and beauty. Curiously enough, the tenure of office of the last two organists covers almost exactly one hundred years:

<sup>1</sup> *Linc. Cath. Stat.*, pt. ii. p. 646, and note.

George Skelton holding the post from 1794 to 1850, and being succeeded by J. M. W. Young (1850-1895). The latter was well known as a composer of sacred cantatas, church music, and as the compiler of the Lincoln Psalter. His successor, G. J. Bennett, Mus.Doc., a thorough musical artist, has brought the singing and music of the choir to a high pitch of perfection, and in few places elsewhere can the force and beauty of Milton's lines be more truly and reverently felt than in the ritual choir of St. Hugh :

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‘ The high embowèd roof,  
With antique pillars massy-proof,  
And storied windows richly dight,  
Casting a dim religious light.  
There let the pealing organ blow  
To the full-voiced choir below,  
In service high and anthems clear,  
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,  
Dissolve me into ecstasies,  
And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.’

(*Il Penseroso*, i. 157-166.)

The choristers are divided into two lots: the four seniors, who have the title of ‘choristers,’ and are of Bishop Gravesend’s original foundation, and who wear, instead of a surplice, a vestment which is really a remnant, with sleeves added, of a choral cope with white trimming (once no doubt fur). The rest are called Burghersh chanters or supernumeraries. In the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, ‘concerning the service of the Church,’ is a reference to ‘the great diversity in saying and singing in Churches within this Realm: some following *Salisbury* Use, some *Hereford* Use, and some the use of *Bangor*, some of *York*, some of *Lincoln*.’ Only one fragment apparently exists, which is ‘on the face of it, secundum usum Lincoln. This unique fragment consists of a few leaves of the early part of a missal of the fifteenth

Lincoln century, differing especially in the sequences from that of Sarum.<sup>1</sup>

The name of ex-Precentor Bramley is endeared to all who delight in Christmas Carols, of which he (with Sir John Stainer) was the editor.

The remains of the reredos and the screens enclosing the sanctuary in the Angel Choir were probably erected before the end of the thirteenth century. The side-screens have shallow panelling with arches under pedimental heads. 'In the east part' (of the choir), says Bishop Sanderson, writing in 1641, 'stood the altar, a door into the room there at each end. Upon the room stood the tabernacle. Below, many closets in the wall.' The eastern wall with pierced quatrefoils is, no doubt, a remnant of the double reredos screen, which had a long narrow sacristy between them, and a newel stair at the north-west corner leading to the tabernacle above. A somewhat similar arrangement was at Winchester, and the stair and platform still exist at Beverley Minster, being very convenient for the exhibition of relics, etc. The existing reredos is from the design of Essex, in 1764, taken from the canopy of Bishop de Luda's tomb at Ely Cathedral: it shows the triple gables, so familiar in Lincoln Cathedral, and was executed by a local stone-carver, Pink. Before this work of Essex there was a Classical reredos attributed to Wren, which is now in the cloisters under the stairs to the Library. The Easter Sepulchre on the north side of the sacristy is a very beautiful specimen of Decorated work. It, with a tomb on the west end, consists of six tall trefoil-headed arches with open cusping, under pedimental heads, a pointed end trefoil not pierced through occupying each tympanum. It is vaulted

<sup>1</sup> *The Old Service-Books of the English Church* (Wordsworth and Littlehales), p. 11.

with skeleton ribs (as is the case with the choir-screen), and is divided into two parts by a screen wall covered with diaper-work of foliage, as are the two ends of the composition: some little pigs will be noticed among the oak leaves and acorns. On the aisle side the three western bays have each an unpierced trefoil in a circle. The capitals are treated with naturalistic freedom. The pedimental heads are profusely crocketed with a spreading out and bulging leaf, and end in richly ornamented finials, those on the ridge of the gable being still more profusely carved, and the foliage more expanded. Between each bay are small buttresses ending in crocketed spirelets. The Roman soldiers, apparently asleep, occupy the lower part of the three eastern bays. They show the chain-mail covering their heads and limbs (not divided for the fingers), and all have surcoats and heater-shaped shields. Two have no girdle. The western three bases are occupied by two large quatrefoils, and between them a slab with an inscription to the memory of Remigius. On the slab was placed the Host on Good Friday, and carefully watched till Easter Morn, when it was replaced on the High Altar with a special service of praise and thanksgiving. In many mediæval church accounts are notices of monies paid for various parts of these ceremonies. In the Churchwarden's Accounts of Abingdon, for example, in the year 1557 was paid 'to the sextin for watching the sepulture two nights viijd.' At St. Mary-at-Hill, London: 'To the clerk and sexton, for two men for watching the Sepulchre from Good Friday to Easter Eve and for their meate and drinke, 14d.' Reading Church, in 1507, paid 'twopence to Sybil Derling for nayles for the sepulchre, and for rosyn to the Resurrection play.' The three important parts of the ceremony were the veneration of and creeping to the Cross, the deposi-

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Lincoln tion of the Host and Crucifix in the sepulchre, and their removal on Easter morning. Curiously enough, there seems to be no special reference to the sepulchre in the Cathedral Statutes, though at page 366 (*Liber Niger*) there is a notice of completely baring the quire 'die cene et parasceuem . . . ad significandum nuditatem corporis Xpi?' In the inventories of the cathedral, in 1536 and 1548, there was an image, silver gilt, with a void in the breast (where the Host was placed) for Easter Day. It represented our Lord with a cross in His hand, and weighed 37 oz. As recently as March 1556 there were 'now remayning in the revestrie one black altar stone or sepulchre, a brass cross for candelles called a Judas cross, and other Furniture belonging to the same Sepulchre, the pascall with the Images in both belonging to the same Sepulchre and a candlestike of wodde.' Of eight altar-cloths three were sold by the Dean and Chapter, the other five remained together, with 'one precious cloth to laye uppon the altoure, and one for the Sepulchre wrought with Images.' Also, in an inventory of the cathedral (temp. Philip et Mariae), 'Item, a white stained cloth of Damask silk for the Sepulchre, with the passion and resurrection of Our Lord.' On the south side of the sacrarium just opposite the Easter Sepulchre are the tombs of Katherine, Duchess of Lancaster, and her daughter Joan, Countess of Westmorland. These originally lay side by side under arched canopies, but they were much despoiled in the Commonwealth days, and at the Restoration cut short and put end on under a Renaissance canopy. The chantry is protected on the aisle side by original iron palisading, whence it got the name of 'cantaria in le Irons' (Dean and Chapter's Registry), or 'cantaria infra les Irons' (*Valor Ecclesiast.*). The Duchess's monument, Sander-son and Dugdale say, 'was inlaid with her effigies in brass, and on a fillet of the same metal, this epitaph

in old English characters, beginning on the south side from the head : See and Cathedral : from 1235 to Present Day

‘ Ici gist Dame Katherine, duchesse de Lancastre, jadys femme de le tres noble et tres graciosus prince John duc de Lancaster fils a tres noble Roy Edward le tierce. Laquelle Katherine moreult le 7 jour de May l’an de grace mil CCC tierz. De quelle alme Dieu eyt mercy et pitee. Amen.’

Arms in pale. 1. France and England, quarterly : a label of three points *ermine*. 2. *Gules* three Catherine wheels *or*. The marks of the brass effigy, of the fillet for the inscription, and of the shields on the sides of the tomb are clearly visible. She gave to the cathedral (besides other vestments) a chasuble and two tunicles and albes, with twenty-four copes, of red bawdkyn, and orphreys of gold ornamented with leopards, powdered with black trefoils. The copes had three silver wheels (in reference to her maiden name Roet or Rouet, or to her Christian name Katherine?) in the hood.<sup>1</sup> Her daughter, Joan Beaufort, married first Robert, son of Robert, Lord Ferrars of Wem, and secondly Ralph Nevil, first Earl of Westmorland; and so she was the grandmother of Richard Nevil, the great Earl of Warwick, the king-maker. She died on November 13, 1440, and was buried next to her mother in ‘a monument of grey marble built altar-waies, on a verge of which, on a fillet of brass, this epitaph, beginning at the feet :

“ Filia Lancastr. ducis inelyta, sponsa Johannis Westmerland primi subjacet hic comitis.  
Desine, scriba, suas virtutes promere, nulla  
Vox valeat merita vix reboare sua.  
Stirpe, decore, fide, tum fama, spe, prece, prole,  
Actibus & vita polluit immo sua.  
Natio tota dolet pro morte. Deus tulit ipsam  
In Bricii festo. C. quater M. quater X.”’

<sup>1</sup> *Linc. Cath. Stat.*, pt. ii. p. 262 n.

In the choir further will be noted the splendid brass candelabrum, at the top of which is a dove with the olive branch. Round the great bowl is the following inscription: 'St. Matt. 5th chap. 14th 15th & 16th ver. Ex dono Dom. Thom. Meres militis 1698.' He was M.P. for Lincoln for over fifty years, and lived in Deloraine Court. The faldstool from which the two lay vicars chant the Litany is of the same date as the beautiful pulpit in the nave. The Eagle, whence the lessons are read, is a fine piece of brasswork, and its foot rests on three lions. The inscription on it says: 'Eccles: cathed: B. Mariae Lincoln. AN. DOM. 1667 D.D. Johannes Goche armiger.' His coat-of-arms also is engraved on the east side, *i.e.* *azure* three boars passant *argent*. The bishop's throne, between the eastern end of the south row of stalls and the iron gate into the aisle, is due to Essex, a very fair specimen of his powers of design; it has recently been improved and adorned with small statues. The pulpit opposite to it was designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, R.A., and was given as a token of admiration and respect for the services to archæology and architecture of the late Edward Trollope, Suffragan-Bishop of Nottingham.

The remaining monuments in the Angel Choir may now be briefly described. Just east of the north door is the chantry chapel of Richard Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, 1420-1431. As bishop of this diocese (in which Lutterworth was then situated) he had to execute the decree of the Council of Constance in 1425, ordering the body of Wickliffe to be exhumed, the bones burnt, and the ashes thrown into the nearest river (the Swift). He will be more generously remembered for having founded Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1430. The recumbent figure of the bishop *in pontificalibus* rests on the surface of the tomb, with his pastoral staff in his left hand and his right

hand in the attitude of blessing. At his head and feet are four shields, some almost undecipherable. They are: 1. Barry of six *argent* and *azure*, in chief three lozenges *gules*, on the second bar a mitre *argent*. A mullet sable for difference. (This coat-of-arms has been retained by Lincoln College, Oxford.) 2. A sword's point in base. The first is repeated four times and the second twice. Beneath the slab on which the bishop lies is a representation behind three ogee arches of a corpse in its winding-sheet. A pillar piscina is on the south wall. The door and ironwork are original and good, the tabernacle work fine. Bishop Fleming's Chapel has been restored, in memory of the late Sir Charles Anderson, with great taste and in a most satisfactory manner. In the north wall of the north-east chapel (called St. Katherine's, or Burghersh, Borroughs, or Burwash) is a recessed tomb and monument of Bartholomew, third Baron Burghersh. He was a 'preux chevalier,' and is mentioned in the pages of Froissart as having fought bravely at Crecy and Poitiers; he was afterwards governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports. He died in 1356. The monument consists of a recumbent effigy in plate armour; his head, which has long hair almost like a Georgian wig, resting on his helmet, his foot on a lion; and above is a shield with two angels as supporters, bearing a lion rampant, doubly queued, the coat-of-arms of Burghersh. At his feet are two angels holding up a small figure with its hands joined in prayer—a representation of the Soul(?) On the canopy of tabernacle work in the spandrils are the shields of King Edward III. and his sons, the Black Prince, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt, and Edmund of Langley, with the shield of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster and Lincoln, whose side Lord Burghersh took (as did his powerful

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Lincoln connection Lord Badlesmere), but did not come to the same end. Numerous shields on the side of the tomb give the heraldic bearings of families with whom he was allied, and below the shields have evidently been small figures such as are on the other tombs in the chapel. On the south side of the chapel, touching the east wall, is an altar-tomb of Robert, Baron Burghersh, father of Bartholomew. It once had a recumbent effigy on it, and has a series of male and female figures with shields containing their respective heraldic coats above them. West of the tomb, in the same line with it, is that of Henry Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, 1320-1340, son of the last named. He was Treasurer in 1327, and Chancellor of England, 1328. He was frequently employed by Edward III. in diplomatic missions. For instance, when the King was staying at Mons, in Hainault, in 1339, Froissart says: 'Also with him was the Bishop of Lincoln, who was greatly renowned in this journey both in wisdom and in prowess.' During his episcopate several attempts were made to procure from the Pope the canonisation of his predecessor, Bishop John D'Alderby, and two letters at least were written for this purpose by King Edward III. to the Pope in 1327 and 1328. The effigy remains, and is that of a bishop *in pontificalibus*, his mitre on his head (his hair long), which is supported by two angels, his feet resting on a lion and a gryphon with a long and knotted neck. On the sides of the tombs are again the shields of King Edward III. and his sons, with those of Henry, Duke of Lancaster (whose only daughter, Blanche, married John of Gaunt). All these had been admitted, in 1343, into the brotherhood of the cathedral, and were specially remembered at the altar in this chantry chapel. In small spandrils are pairs of seated figures with coats-of-arms over them. Over these tombs

were formerly rich canopies which have been in great part destroyed. Westwards of Bishop Burghersh's tomb is a large base of a shrine or feretory, with recesses in the sides for kneeling, and a hole in the pavement in front scooped out by worshippers. It probably held the head of St. Hugh, as mentioned above. Close to the tomb of Robert, Lord Burghersh, and touching the east wall, was that of Queen Eleanor, who died at Harby, on the Nottinghamshire border, on November 28, 1290. She was embalmed at Lincoln, and the body rested at St. Katherine's Priory, opposite which, on Swine Green, was the first of the beautiful series of Eleanor's Crosses. Sanderson described the tomb as a 'marble altar monument whereon a queen's effigies at full length of gilded brass, with this inscription on the edge of the brass in Saxon (rather Lombardic) characters: **✠HIC : SUNT : SEPULTA : VICERA : ALIANORE : QUONDAM : REGINE : ANGLIE : UXORIS : REGIS : EDVARDI : FILII : REGIS : HENRICI : CUJUS : ANIME PROPITIETUR DEUS : AMEN ✠ PATERNOSTER.**' There were three escutcheons on the side of the tomb, England, Castile and Leon quarterly, and Ponthieu. This monument had been totally destroyed, but fortunately an illustrated manuscript of Sanderson and Dugdale exists in the Earl of Winchilsea's library which had come down to him from Sir Christopher Hatton, who had suggested the pilgrimage to Dugdale. From the drawing in this book, and from the tomb in Westminster Abbey, an exact copy of the monument was erected, in 1891, on the south side of this—St. John the Baptist's Chapel—by the late Joseph Ruston, D.L. In the south choir aisle there are tombs in what Sanderson calls 'William the Conqueror's Chapel'—more rightly, perhaps, it should be the Cantilupe Chantry Chapel—founded by Joan,

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widow of Nicholas de Cantilupe, for a warden and seven chaplains, whose house still exists on the west side of the green opposite the entrance to the Vicars' Court. A mutilated recumbent figure at the east end of the tombs is clad in a surcoat showing the Cantilupe arms, *i.e.* *Gules a fesse vairé between three leopards' heads inverted, jessant fleurs de liz or.* This

coat is repeated on the south side of the tomb. The effigy probably was of Nicholas, third Baron Cantilupe, who died in 1355. At the west end of this tomb is another very similar in design and construction, with the effigy of a man in a religious habit, his head shaven and resting on a helmet, with a Saracen's head as crest, and a hat (or mitre, according to Peck) and strings hanging down behind. On the south side are three shields, once painted as follows. The first is the coat of D'Arcy, *argent*, three roses *gules*; the middle one quarterly England within a bordure *argent* (Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent), bendy of ten *or* and *azure* (Montfort of Beaudesert, Henley in Arden, county Warwick), *purpure* a lion rampant *argent* (Wymbishe), and fourthly *argent* three roses *gules* for D'Arcy. The eastern shield bears the Wymbishe coat. Whose monument this was seems very uncertain: it has been supposed to be of a Prior of Nocton, or of Nicholas Wymbishe the archdeacon, of Robert Wymbishe the sub-dean, or of Thomas Wymbishe the canon; but how or why Edmund of Woodstock and Montfort's coats should appear has not yet been explained.<sup>1</sup> These tombs have retained their graceful canopies on the south side; between the two is the almost effaced shield of St. Hugh, a saltire between four fleur-de-lys. The socket for the piscina may be seen under the second arched panel from the Cantilupe tomb. Close to the south wall of the chapel is a monument to William Hilton, R.A., who was born in the gatehouse of the Vicars' Court, in Lincoln, on June 3, 1786, and Peter de Wint, erected by Harriet de Wint, sister and widow, in 1864. Bas-reliefs from their pictures occupy four panels, three in one side and one at the west end.

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<sup>1</sup> *Assoc. Archit. Societies' Reports and Papers*, vol. xxiv. p. 355. Norgate and Footman, *History of Nocton*.



On the east side of the great south door is another Perpendicular chantry chapel built by John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln (1480-1494), Chancellor (for life) of the University of Oxford. He was Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1474, and Chancellor in 1483, and was translated from Rochester to Lincoln; his piety, learning, and general knowledge of affairs being greatly prized by Sir Thomas More. He almost rebuilt Buckden, the Chancery at Lincoln, and a great part of St. Martin's, Stamford. There are two doorways, the east one blocked up. Over it is the coat-of-arms of the See of Lincoln, and a shield with *azure* two chevrons *or* between three roses *argent*, for Russell (or Roscel). Over the west door is a shield with a St. Andrew's Cross *ermine* between four fleur-de-lys *or*, and the coat of Russell as before. The sides of the tomb have had brasses on them, of which only one shield (of Russell) exists on the south side within the chapel. The portraiture in brass of a bishop mitred was on the monument according to Sanderson. The original roof of oak remains as well as the original door and ironwork, and the iron grille to the inside of the tomb. There are two corbels on the east wall for images, and a piscina between the easternmost and the middle windows. The glass in the windows was presented in memory of the late Sub-dean Jacob Clements, and commemorates him, Thomas Manners-Sutton, Robert Ayscough, Robert Wymbish, James Gardiner, and William Paley, all Sub-deans; James Amiraux Jeremie, Sub-dean and afterwards Dean, and Bishops John Russell and James Gardiner.

On the west of the south door is the elaborately ornamented chantry chapel of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, 1524-1547. He was for the greater part

of his bishopric Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and two dioceses were made out of that of Lincoln, *i.e.* Oxford and Peterborough. He was also the (presumably hardworked) Confessor to King Henry VIII. His heart alone was buried in this chantry. On the frieze at the top of the chapel is the punning inscription: *Longa terra mensura ejus* (the coat-of-arms of King Henry VIII.) *Dominus dedit*, with his own coat-of-arms: *argent* on a chevron *gules* a falcon volant of the first, between three ogresses *sable* in chief *or* a rose of the second between two leopards' faces *b.* at the beginning and end of the inscription. Over the blocked-up east doorway are shields with the arms of the see, and Bishop Longland's. Over the western doorway a St. Andrew's Cross (or saltire) *ermine* between four fleur-de-lys *or* (for St. Hugh?) and Bishop Longland's arms as before. On the west wall of the chapel are several niches with tabernacle work for images, unfinished and showing evidence of almost Renaissance feeling. The modern monuments in the retro-choir consist of altar-tombs, behind the High Altar, commemorating Bishop Fuller, St. Hugh (erected by Bishop Fuller), and Bishop Gardiner and his son Sub-dean Gardiner. A cenotaph monument to the late Christopher Wordsworth, Bishop of Lincoln 1869-1885, one of the greatest scholars the English Church has ever produced, stands in the third bay on the north side. The base is rather too high to allow the recumbent figure to be properly seen, and the canopy is somewhat too elaborate. But it is at any rate truly Gothic in design and execution, which is more than can be said of the monument to the late Dean, Dr. W. J. Butler (of Wantage), which is of Italian design, the figure (admirably sculptured and an excellent likeness) and die in alabaster, the base and cornices in red

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Lincoln Veronese marble producing an unfortunate effect of colour.

To John of Welbourn, who was Treasurer of the Cathedral from about 1350 to 1380, can be assigned the erection of the choir stalls, on the authority of a memorandum among the Chapter Muniments which enumerates his benefactions to the church. In this he is called 'Inceptor et consultor incepcionis facturæ stallorum novorum in ecclesia cathedrali Lincoln. And the same John died in the year of our Lord thirteen hundred and eighty.'

Originally, the residentiary Canons occupied the four stalls at the extreme ends of the rows; the Dean that on the south side next to the entrance door into the choir, the Precentor opposite him on the north side, the Chancellor at the east end of the south side of stalls, and the Treasurer at the east end of the north side. This last office has been long vacant: 'abrepto omni Ecclesie Thesaurò, Desiit Thesaurarii munus' is the rather pathetic entry made by the last holder, in King Henry VIII.'s reign. The number of seats have been extended eastwards on the north side by the erection of new stall work in the part occupied by the 'Den,' where once the choir organ stood. These new stalls are kept for the Judge of Assize, the High Sheriff, and other officials of the county. The number of stalls is sixty-two, and over each seat is a board with the name of the stall on it, and verses from the Latin version of the Psalter, being the commencement of the Psalms which each Prebendary has to say daily.

According to the late A. W. Pugin, the choir at Lincoln 'in respect of its stalls, is by far the finest in England: they are executed in the most perfect manner, not only as regards variety and beauty of ornamental design, but in accuracy of workmanship,

which is frequently deficient in ancient examples of  
 woodwork. They are of the Decorated style' (rather  
 early Perpendicular, as will be noticed in the details  
 of ornament), 'and are certainly superior to any  
 other choir fittings of that period remaining in  
 England; the misereres are all varied in design, and  
 consist of foliage, animals, figures, and even historical  
 subjects, beautifully designed and executed with sur-  
 passing skill and freedom.'

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There are three rows of stalls: the lowest for the  
 children of the choir, the two upper rows having  
 return stalls at the west end. Beneath the lowest  
 row of desks are panels containing alternately the  
 figures of a king and of an angel with a musical  
 instrument. The backs of this row of seats have  
 perforated quatrefoils; in the centre of these are  
 various subjects minutely carved—a fox riding on a  
 goose, and in another carrying it on his back; a fox  
 preaching to birds and beasts; a knight tilting, and  
 many fabulous animals such as wyverns and the like.  
 The misereres are exceedingly fine and good—Judith  
 and Holofernes (Welton Westhall), a wild hairy  
 man fighting a griffin, on each side a hairy man  
 (Stoke), a king seated cross-legged with sceptre, borne  
 by two griffins, between two fleur-de-lys (King John  
 of France?) (Sutton), may be taken as instances.  
 The 'poppy heads' are also interesting: on that of  
 the Precentor's stall is the dramatic history of a  
 monkey churning, another stealing a pat of butter,  
 hiding himself, being discovered, tried and promptly  
 hung! On the base of the Dean's stall are three  
 shields, one bearing a cross botonée (Bishop Boken-  
 ham, consecrated 1362), another a tau cross raguly,  
 and the third gyronny of eight, in first quarter on  
 a plain field a covered cup (Dean Stretchley, who  
 died in 1376), thus giving the approximate date of



Lincoln the stalls.<sup>1</sup> The niches in the tabernacles spring from the top of a projecting canopy of three ogee arches, and have now been all filled with statuettes of saints, chiefly presented by the occupants of the stalls.

To John of Welbourn also is due the vaulting of the great central tower, of the western towers, and the panelling of the walls beneath them. Possibly the early Perpendicular windows at the west end of the nave may be due to him; they cannot be much after his time. The row of kings, cutting into the crown of the great Norman western doorway, of very inferior artistic value, is also a gift from him.

The upper portions of the western towers cannot be dated much after Welbourn's time, *i.e.* about 1380. They are about 200 feet high, and are most admirable towers in every way, not the least being the manner in which this later addition has been grafted on to the Norman substructure. It has been urged that they would be quite perfect if they were visible for their whole height down to the ground, but it would be found that they were far too narrow and slender. The tall coupled transomed windows, with their lower third blocked up, and with ogee hood-moulds, the corner turrets which have their upper third panelled, and which end in 'pinnacles rising out of coronas of gablets,' and the tabernacled parapet, all combine to produce a very charming effect. They had spires of wood and lead which were removed in 1807, having fallen into decay. Much popular commotion was caused by a proposal for their removal in the close of the eighteenth century. After breaking into the close by the Greestone stairs

<sup>1</sup> Much of the above information has been taken from an article on the Choir Stalls of Lincoln Cathedral, by the late Prebendary Wickenden.—*Assoc. Archit. Societies' Reports, etc.*, vol. xv. p. 179, etc.

proper, the mob is said to have broached the barrels of ale from the Chancellor's cellars, and amused themselves by making that dignitary to dance on the Minster Green.<sup>1</sup>

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The mention of the completion of these towers suggests that the building of the upper part of the central tower (for convenience in dealing with the choir and its contents, rather irrespective of chronology) has been left unchronicled.

After the formal translation of St. Hugh's body to the Angel Choir, collections of money for the fabric went on as before (though doubtless a considerable sum was gained annually at his shrine). Thus Bishop Sutton, in 1297, sends episcopal injunctions to rural deans to resume collections; in 1298 issues a forty days' indulgence (release from penance), and in the same year injunctions to rural deans to expound the matter. His successor, Bishop D'Alderby, grants a forty days' indulgence to contributors to the fabric in 1301, and on March 9, 1307, issues letters of indulgence addressed to the archdeacons and rural deans of the diocese, for the completion of the central tower ('campanile in ipsius ecclesiae medio'), and stating that it was hoped to begin the work in the following summer ('opus illud in instanti estate inchoare'). On March 14 of the same year, however, a resolution of the Chapter gave permission to the 'stone-masons to begin their work on the tower, laying the stones whenever they thought fit.' That the work was proceeded with, and that the new bell-tower was provided with bells, is proved from a memorandum dated January 23, 1311, wherein 'the execution of will of Master Gilbert Deivill, late Treasurer of the church of Lincoln, in the cost of two ropes for the bells newly hung in

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Anderson, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xxxvi. p. 374.

Lincoln the middle bell-tower of the church.' This tower was also (as its lower predecessor had been) finished with a still loftier spire of lead and timber, rising to a total height of about 525 feet, and at that date it must—with the spire of old St. Paul's—have been among the loftiest spires in Europe. It was destroyed in a violent storm on January 31, 1548, and was not replaced. Essex is responsible for the present open battlements, which if coarse are effective, and serve their purpose well.

Without undue praise, this tower certainly deserves to be styled the most beautiful central tower in England. The long belfry windows, with the pierced trefoils in their heads, coupled beneath a much ornamented arch with pedimental head, crocketed and ending in a finial, the panelled angle turrets, the profuse crocketing before the pillars of the windows, and the noble proportions of the whole tower, justify almost any amount of praise which can be lavished on it. It 'is gathered in about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches, 25 feet below the parapet,'<sup>1</sup> which saves any idea (as in some modern work sometimes happens) that the top of the tower is going to split open.

In this Broad Tower now hangs 'Great Tom of Lincoln.' The first 'greate bell' on record, which weighed 78 cwts. 7 lbs., was recast in 1611, but whether this was one of those given by Geoffrey Plantagenet in his time of bishopric is uncertain. After recasting it weighed 4 tons 8 cwts., and was in the key of B, and hung in the north-west tower. As it shook the tower, ringing it was discontinued after 1802. Twenty-five years afterwards it became cracked, and in 1834 it was broken up and recast and placed in its present position in the Broad Tower. In this tower had hung for many years a

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Anderson, *Lincoln Pocket Guide*, p. 120.

peal of six 'Lady Bells' of very sweet and silvery tone (the rings for fastening the ropes of these bells still remain on the piers of the tower, and they were popularly supposed to have been put in for Cromwell's horses!), which unfortunately were broken up at the same time and thrown into the melting-pot with 'Great Tom,' increasing his weight of course, but losing for the cathedral the proud boast of having two peals of bells. Two quarter-jacks were also cast to accompany 'Great Tom,' and the quarters were sounded on these till 1880, when the late N. Clayton and Mrs. Seely (wife of the then M.P. for Lincoln, and grandmother of Mr. C. H. Seely, the late representative of the city in the House of Commons) gave the first and second bells. The old bells were recast, and the four now produce the 'Cambridge quarters.' The clock, made by Potts of Leeds and supervised by the late Lord Grimthorpe, was put up at the same time. 'Great Tom' is not swung, owing to the feared effect on the tower. It is never heard to better advantage than on one of the great festivals, or on Assize Sunday, 'swinging slow with sullen roar.' In the south-west, or St. Hugh's, tower hung a peal of eight bells, of which two are fairly ancient, one dating from 1606, and the other from 1598. These are rung for service on Sunday, and every Thursday night, and of course on the great festivals. Old customs linger long in cathedral cities, and the curfew 'tolls the knell of parting day' nightly at 8 P.M. as it has done for centuries past. Also a bell is rung at 6 A.M. in summer, and 7 A.M. in winter—the first 'ave'-bell—and again at 9 A.M. and 3 P.M.

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But little has hitherto been said about the outside of the cathedral—except in the case of the west front and the towers—for the sake of avoiding confusion.



Lincoln    A walk round outside, beginning at the west front, may serve to remedy this deficiency. The west front itself need not detain us long now, as its special features—the early Norman work of Remigius, the curious sculptures, the beautiful doorways of Alexander and the involved arcade, the additions at each side showing St. Hugh's 'pigeon-holes,' the great west screen with its grand central gable and flanking turrets with the statues of St. Hugh on the south, and the swineherd of Stow on the north—have all been described in previous pages. These turrets, in common with a number of those about this cathedral, have a series of gablets around the springing of the spirelet, giving a kind of coroneted appearance which is extremely effective. Proceeding to the north-west corner of the cathedral, the Norman gable is seen, with the network ornamenting the upper portion, and three rows of arcading below. The upper row has intersecting arches, the middle one simple arches. This is carried westward till it meets the screen-wall (and can be seen in some of the chambers in the west front), and the lowest has intersecting arches, and is continued to the screen-wall, and along the top of the Norman part of the west front—interrupted now by the heightened central opening. The huge extent of the nave roof, which is all covered with lead, is now seen. The flying buttresses are a great ornament to this part of the building, as well as a great support to the thrust of the vaulting and the weighty roof. Each buttress has chamfered angles and a gabled triangular head, with tufts of foliage at the ends of the gable. Small buttresses of the same kind for the support of the aisle walls are placed between each larger pair. The buttresses to the great north transept are pilared, and end above the parapet in freely crocketed pinnacles.

The north end of the transept is a fine architectural composition, five lancet windows occupying the gable, above the beautiful wheel window, the row of little lancets and the Dean's porch. Each side of the gable is supported by elegant gabled turrets ending in pinnacles, arising from the junction of two angle buttresses (these will also be noticed at the north-east corner of the Morning Chapel). The end of Wren's Library is picturesque, with the gateway from the cloisters beneath it. Next comes the Deanery, with the little lantern (from the Works Chantry) in the gable of its porch. On the plot of grass at the north-east corner of the Minster Yard is the most important addition to Lincoln in the way of art which has been made for centuries, in the shape of a statue of the late Poet-Laureate, Alfred, Lord Tennyson, by the late G. F. Watts, R.A., who gave all the artistic work of it to the City. It represents the poet in the familiar cloak, with his wide-brimmed hat in one hand, gazing down with bowed head at the flower and the leaf in his other hand, a favourite dog looking up at him. The statue is considerably larger than life-size, and groups remarkably well with the surrounding buildings of the cathedral. On the pedestal is the simple name Tennyson, absolutely fitting the noble memorial of one great Englishman by another great artist. The upper part of the north front of the north-east transept has a very acute gable, filled in with three lancets, very long and thin; lower down are two broader ones, followed by two broader and shorter, with two large lancets on the ground floor. The angles of the transept are finished by two buttresses at right angles, ending in a spirelet, with triangular gables of each buttress flanking it. A quaint piece of half-timbered work at the north-east angle of the cloisters is the remains of the old

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Lincoln Library, to which a new staircase has been added. The chapter-house and flying buttresses have been already (pp. 218-223) described. The low Tudor building between it and the north-east transept is where the 'Camera Communis,' or Common Room was. It has a Tudor fireplace on each floor, and the upper one is used as a Diocesan Theological Library.

The chapels on the east side of the transept have, as all St. Hugh's work had, curious little, almost circular-headed, lancet windows into the triforium or roof space. There are generally two of them over each large ground-floor lancet window, and they have small pillars with fully foliated capitals. East of the northern chapel will be seen the foundations of the oblong square-ended chapel, which was replaced by the existing one, under the direction of Essex, in the eighteenth century, the wall above shows the weather-moulding of the roof. The blank wall still higher up, and the strong buttress on the south, show probably the preparations for a tower in this north bay of the transept. The richness of the outside of the Angel Choir is very evident, especially in the decoration of the buttresses, which are panelled, with niches for statues, crocketed heads ending in finials and gargoyles at the springing of the gabling. The cornice of the aisle roofs is good and effective, and the parapet of the choir roof a happy transition from the wonderfully ornate stonework to the plain sheets of lead. The tracery of the clerestory and aisle windows also shows to great advantage, and the bunches of foliage between the pillars. Beneath the window in the third bay from the east is the north doorway, a graceful and interesting composition. The large circumscribing arch has a sharply pointed narrow lancet on each side of it and has several mouldings, one of which, curiously, is of wood. In the tympanum

of the arch is a pointed quatrefoil, with leafage at the points of the cusps, and a bracket below for a statue. The actual doors are double, under pointed arches with dog-tooth moulding, which have a rich hood-moulding over them, with foliage (almost like crockets) beneath it, and bosses of deeply undercut leafage. On each side of the doorway are three pillars, divided (as in the triforium inside) by crockets of foliage and with capitals of freely rendered leafage. The central pier is obviously of later date, and consists of three pillars with a Perpendicular pattern of foliage running up between them, and with stilted typical Perpendicular bases, as have all the other pillars in this doorway. The capitals have also flat, spreading leafage, and the abacus is ornamented with little rosettes. On the face of the capital is a shield of the squarish form, usual in the latter end of the fourteenth century, with concave outline at the top. In the first and fourth quarters are the coat-of-arms of St. Edward the Confessor (*azure* a cross fleurie, between five martlets *or*), and in the second and third France and England quarterly. The supporters are on the dexter side a lion, on the sinister side a bull, or white hart (this has been considerably mutilated), and the shield has been supported from above by an angel on each side. The shield undoubtedly is King Richard II.'s, who, as has been before related, visited the city and was admitted (with his queen) a member of the brotherhood of the cathedral, and probably the changes in this doorway mark that occasion. The little Perpendicular chapel of Bishop Fleming gives an effect of richness, and is not felt as an intrusion. Just at the north-east angle of the retrochoir or presbytery is the picturesque little well, now disused. The east end of the cathedral is beautiful and very impressive; the boldly projecting buttresses, the graceful trefoil-

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Lincoln headed arcade below the windows, the noble east window and its fellows on either side, the profusely decorated gable crocketed to its apex, with the Virgin and Child<sup>1</sup> in the trefoil above the upper window (which itself would serve as an east window to many a large church), the four coroneted turrets, ending in crocketed and finialed pinnacles, and even the two side gables (differing as they do in size, form, and character of arcading) though they front no roof behind them (it is curious, as noticed before, how the love of three gables has found expression in so many parts of the church), all form a very harmonious and delightful composition, in the most perfect style of Transitional or Early Decorated Gothic architecture. On the first buttress to the south are fine statues generally thought to be of King Edward I. trampling on and spearing a figure (for Scotland?) and his queen, Eleanor (some authorities say King Richard II. and his queen, Anne); and on the next buttress westwards is a female statue, which may be King Edward's second wife, Margaret, sister to King Philip the Fair of France.

The gargoyle on the east of the great south porch represents, so tradition states, the devil looking over Lincoln from the back of a witch. There are many allusions to this in English literature, of which the following may serve as samples:—

Matt Prior in the character of his Satanic Majesty says, 'As sure as I look over Lincoln.'

Pope writes,

'Half that the Dev'l o'erlooks from Lincoln Town.'  
(*Imitation of Horace*, ii. 2. v. 245.)

Sir Walter Scott in the *Fortunes of Nigel* (vol. ii.

<sup>1</sup> Admirably drawn by Mr. New from a telephotograph by the Hon. Hugh St. Leger, to whom is also due the Angel on page 150.

p. 67) makes Dame Ursley say, 'You look on me as the Devil looks over Lincoln'; and Lord Byron in *Don Juan*, speaking of Sydney Smith (presumably), writes, 'preferment'

'Gave him to lay the Devil who looks o'er Lincoln,  
A fat fen vicarage, and nought to think on.'  
(*Don Juan*, canto xvi. st. lxxxii.)

See and  
Cathedral:  
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The south porch is an almost unique example in this country of the porches which form such a splendid and frequent feature of cathedrals in France, of which perhaps those at Chartres may serve as two of the finest specimens. It occupies the space between two buttresses in the third bay from the east, has a gabled head ending in a finial, and the tympanum of which contains a cinquefoil and small quatrefoils and trefoils. The broad and deep moulding of the outer edge of the gable produces a very fine effect. The remains of two statues occupy niches on each side of the doorway, whose hood-moulding is ornamented with foliage. The outer portion is vaulted. There are three bands of moulding of the internal arch: the outermost of most delicate leafage enfolding, as it were, oval medallions of small figures of saints; the middle one has simply interweaved foliage, and the innermost is composed of figures of saints with a tabernacle over each of them. The tympanum of the arch has a vertically elongated quatrefoil containing a figure of our Lord seated in judgment, with a kneeling and adoring angel on either side (the heads of all these are modern); on His right hand are angels helping the righteous to ascend; on His left the wicked being dragged into a huge mouth of Hell, which is presided over by a demon of much family likeness to the Lincoln Imp. The three beautifully canopied

niches on each side of the doorway probably held figures of saints originally. A central pillar which has a bracket and canopy for a figure (possibly a Virgin and Child ?) divides the two doors, whose heads are ornamented with elegant open cusping. On either side of the porch are the chapels of Bishop Russell (east), whose coat-of-arms, *azure* two chevronelles *or* between three roses *argent*, will be seen on the buttresses, and Bishop Longland's (west), with his coat, *argent* on a chevron *gules*, a falcon volant of the first, between three ogresses *sable* in chief *or* a rose of the second between two leopards' faces *b.* They, like Bishop Fleming's, hardly disturb the earlier architecture by their presence, and indeed they serve to give an additional richness by the smaller scale of design and ornament. The buttresses of the south-east transept have the chamfered edge and foliated capitals of very stiff leafage. That by the south bay was very large and strong, and with its fellow on the west side (which contains a turret stair) was meant to support the tower in this situation. The buttress, which has two sundials on it, has a fine grouped mass of five pillars on its front, twice banded. The coping of the music-chamber over the vestry, and the billet-moulding, are modern and unauthorised. The coroneted turrets and spirelets on each side of the transept gables are each capped with an angel.

The same pillared flying buttresses may be noticed outside St. Hugh's Choir, and subsequently additional narrow ones were placed between each of the lancet windows of the aisle. The same peculiar little lancet windows light the triforium or aisle roofs. A funny little lantern at the junction of the choir and south-east transept is the chimney of the Early English fireplace in the Choristers' Vestry. An outside stair

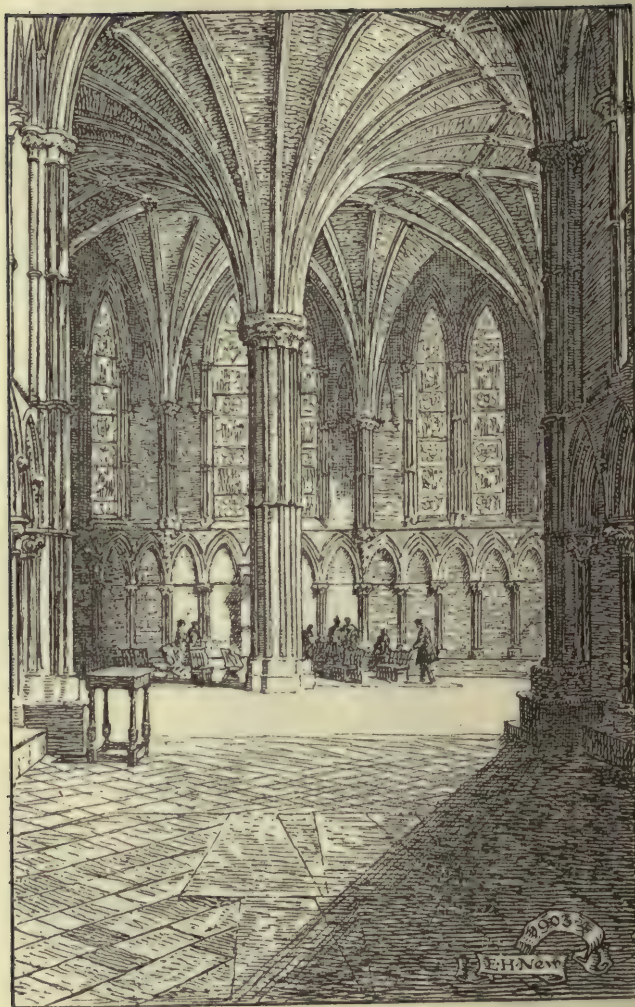
gives access to the music-chamber. The magnificent south front of the great transept has already been described (page 211). It will be noticed that the flanking turrets are different: that on the east being square, pillared, with a gabled top; that on the west being octagonal, ribbed, and crocketed. The Galilee Porch has also been described (page 211). The six beautiful tabernacles and the Decorated parapet of the nave roof deserve notice, and possibly the very best view of the great central tower is to be obtained from the graveyard just south of the nave and west of the Galilee Porch. Some grotesque figures will be seen in the divisions between the mullions in the heads of the windows lighting the roof of the Consistory Court.

See and  
Cathedral:  
from  
1235 to  
Present  
Day



VIRGIN AND CHILD





THE CHAPTER-HOUSE

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE BISHOP'S PALACE AND THE CLOSE



THE ALNWICK TOWER

NO records are available to tell us where Remigius lived in this city, or whether he had any Palace here at all. The first mention of anything of the kind is in a licence given by King Henry I. to the second Bishop of Lincoln as follows: 'To Ranulph Meschines' (Earl of

Chester and possibly of Lincoln also), 'Osbert Viscount' (or Vice-Earl), 'and Picot, son of Colsuen, and to all barons of Lincoln: Know ye that I have granted to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, that he may make a doorway in the wall of my castle' (*castelli mei*) 'to his dwelling-house, provided that all the same the wall, through this being done, be not weakened.' This was probably about A.D. 1110, and the Bishop had bought land on the south side of the Bail wall (which is what 'the wall of my castle' means), where the existing Palace and gardens now are. This very

gate may still be seen at the top of the mound inside. It is a plain semicircular arch about 6 feet wide, and its jambs are buried in the mound at the base of the wall, up to the springing. It stands exactly opposite the Galilee Porch of the Minster, which would be the ordinary door used by the Bishop until the beautiful porch, out of the south aisle of the Presbytery, was built.

There is also another charter extant whereby King Henry I. granted to Alexander, the third Bishop, 'the Gate of Eastgate with the Tower which is over it,' or 'from the Gate of Eastgate with all the lands that are beyond it—for his dwelling.' This was possibly a temporary lodging for the Bishop at the east end of the Bail, where, long afterwards, we find the Episcopate possessed of some land, which was ultimately given up for the enlargement of the Deanery. The commencement of the Palace (apart from the mention in Bishop Robert Bloet's charter) will be found in the following charter given by King Henry II. to the second Bishop, Robert of Lincoln (called de Chesney or de Querceto—of the oak copse):

'Know ye that I have given and granted and have confirmed by this present charter, to the church of Lincoln and to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, and to his successors, for their buildings and dwelling-houses all the land with the ditch of my Bail wall of Lincoln on the eastern side, by the cemetery of the church of the Blessed Michael, unto the cemetery of St. Andrew, and from the cemetery of St. Andrew unto the wall of the city, toward the east. To be free and quiet "*a langabulo et percipio*" and everything else.' (The Palace has always enjoyed every legal immunity, being extra-parochial and subject to no municipal authority.) And he can freely 'perforate the wall of my Bail of Lincoln to make his gateway for his

entrance and exit towards the church (the Minster), and he can so build that his buildings may extend from wall to wall.'

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The present boundaries of the Bishop's domain are fairly described by this charter; on the north it is bounded by the Close wall (originally in this portion the Bail wall also), on the east by the eastern city wall (originally the second Roman east wall), on the south by the site of the graveyard and church of St. Andrew under the Palace, *super collem*, or 'in Danches Gate,' which was to the east of the street Danesgate (it was united to St. Swithin, and has had an Anker house attached to it, for whose inmates various bequests of money are recorded to have been left), and on the west by the churchyard of St. Michael on the Mount, which still exists.

The charter was granted at Lincoln, and as one of the witnesses was Roger, Archbishop of York (1154-1181), and as Bishop Robert held the see from 1148 to 1167, it must date between 1154 and 1167.

Giraldus Cambrensis tells us further that this Bishop began to build 'at a great price—where the foundations were' (*ubi sitae erant*) of the former house apparently, and pledged the ornaments of his church to do so to Aaron the Jew for £300.

St. Hugh of Avalon, Bishop of Lincoln (1186-1200) is recorded to have begun to build the large hall, which was left unfinished at his death. It was completed by his successor Hugh of Wells, Bishop of Lincoln (1209-1235), who also added the large and important range of buildings to the south of the Great Hall, which contained a 'solar' (or upper withdrawing-room), kitchen, butteries, and cellars.

Henry de Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln (1320-



Lincoln 1340) obtained from King Edward III. a *licentia crenellandi*, which was a licence to embattle and fortify this Palace in 1329, and in the following year got another patent for enlarging the area of the Palace by concession of the Mayor of Lincoln: this enlargement was in all probability the garden ground on its southern boundary.

In 1378 King Richard II. confirmed the grant mentioned above made by King Henry II. to Bishop Robert de Chesney.

William Alnwick, Bishop of Lincoln (1436-1449), is recorded to have built the entrance tower called by his name, the chapel eastwards of it, and several rooms at that side of the Palace. The outer gateway between the Vicars' Court and the Cantilupe Chantry still retains the arms of William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln (1496-1514), the founder of Brasenose College, Oxford, *i.e. argent a chevron sable between three roses gules.*

John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln (1521-1547), had the arms of France and England, impaling Howard, quartering Brotherton and others, painted in various apartments of the Palace, probably on account of the visit of King Henry VIII. and his young bride Catherine Howard in 1541, when some of the criminal acts of which she was accused were reported to have been committed in this Palace. In some of the rooms of the Old Hall at Gainsborough (well remembered from *The Mill on the Floss*) can still be seen remains of mural paintings probably due to this same royal progress of King Henry VIII.

In June 1617, as mentioned in a previous chapter, King James I., who was staying at St. Catherine's, was entertained to dinner in the Great Hall by Richard Neile, Bishop of Lincoln (1614-1617). John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln (1621-1641), who

was Lord Keeper in succession to Francis Bacon, and was well known as the great opponent of Archbishop Laud, about the year 1625 began to repair the Palace, which was greatly dilapidated, and consequently a work of great expense. He also bought a collection of books, and had timber prepared to build a library in the Palace, but soon afterwards he became involved in the ecclesiastical and civil troubles, and the books were stolen and the timber was taken for the fortification of the city. We have already seen that in 1643 prisoners were removed from the castle to the Bishop's Palace, and that in and after the attack in 1648 the Palace was plundered, stripped of its lead roofs and almost totally ruined (p. 133).

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In this state Robert Sanderson, Bishop (1660-1663) (to whom we owe in conjunction with Dugdale the careful notes of all the monuments and inscriptions in the Minster before the period of the Commonwealth) found the Palace, and it continued in much the same condition to the time of Richard Reynolds, Bishop of Lincoln (1723-1744), who, most unfortunately, gave permission to the Dean and Chapter to pull down the ruins and use the stone for the repairs of the Minster, for a space of three years. This permission was sanctioned by the royal assent and by a faculty from the Archbishop of Canterbury. In the following year the Bishop granted a twenty-one years' lease of the premises, which includes one small dwelling-house to Dr. Edward Nelthorpe, who improved the house which for years was used by the Bishops of Lincoln when in the city, and which still exists as the north wing of the present Palace. After the lease had been renewed from time to time to various tenants, Bishop Kaye (1827-1853) bought the lease and took the property into his own possession.

Tradition says that the first Lord Lytton, who represented the city in Parliament for some years (1832-1841), wrote *A Strange Story* in these gardens, in which the tale is supposed to be chiefly placed.

In 1886 the Palace of the Bishop of Lincoln at Riseholme having been sold, a new Palace in the Tudor Gothic style was built by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners (Mr. Ewan Christian being the architect) near the old site, incorporating the house of Dr. Nelthorpe; and a chapel has been erected at the south end of the hall, where were the domestic offices, below the Bishop's great chamber or solar, by Messrs. Bodley and Garner.

The original entrance to the Palace domains was through Bishop Bloet's doorway in the Close wall, but probably when Bishop de Burghersh obtained his licence to crenellate his Palace (especially as the *east* wall of the city is specially mentioned), he pierced through it at a spot where the second gateway now stands.

The entrance gateway, as noted above, is due to Bishop Smith; the second gateway having been built by Mr. Charles Mainwaring, the last tenant on lease, who was a great benefactor to the ruins by removing a great accumulation of rubbish, and by carefully preserving the original walls of the Palace. To him is due the range of stables on the south of the entrance, built in front of the chapel and the other buildings, which finally were destroyed by Bishop Reynolds. Next to these stables comes the beautiful Alnwick Tower.

This tower, which is of three stories, has a fine oriel window and the coat-of-arms of Bishop Alnwick on its doors. It was restored at the cost of the late Bishop Wordsworth for the use of the students of the Theological College—the 'Scholae Cancellarii'—

in 1876, and after their removal to the old hospital —now called the Bishop's Hostel on the Steep Hill—it became the muniment room for the diocese.

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Further westwards is the Great Hall, which can be realised by the imagination from the following description of it in the Survey ordered by Parliament in the year 1647:

‘The Greate Hall is very faire, large, lightsome, and of stronge freestone buildinge, in good repaire, being 60 foote of Assise in breadth and 90 foote of assise longe: the forme of buildinge consisteth of one large

Greate Hall  
there.

middle allye, and two out Iles on eyther syde, with 8 gray marble pillars bearing up the arches of freestone in the forme of a large church, having large and faire freestone windows very full of stories in paynted glasse of the kinges of this land. The fyre is used in the middle of the hall; the rooffe of very stronge tymber covered all over with leade. The proporcon of yt is much lyke the bodye of Christe-church in London.’

This of ytselfe  
(by dividinge of  
yt) might make  
a dwellinge-  
howse with all  
convenient  
roomes for use.

The porch, we are also told, had a fair chamber over it with a chimney. The great bay window at the upper end of the hall was undoubtedly built by Bishop Alnwick. Scarcely any remains exist of the two rows of pillars, but just enough to show that each column consisted of a central pillar with four smaller and four larger shafts attached to it, the whole height of these pillars being about 20 feet with a circular band about half-way up. The responds or half-columns at each end of the hall are still partially remaining: these rest upon projecting corbels.

The windows appear to have been of two lights, with trefoiled heads under one arch and weather-



Lincoln moulding, which had a quatrefoil in the apex like the west windows of Exchequer Gate. The lower third of the window was cut off by a transom and was shuttered, the marks of which still exist.

Of the three doors with pointed arches at the lower end of the hall, the middle one opened into a passage which led into the kitchen, the two side ones into pantries. Over this passage and the pantries was a large room, running east and west, which was approached by a turret stair (which led to the chamber over the porch) at the south-west corner of the hall.

This room, the solar or great chamber, had two tall lancet windows in its south wall, with a fireplace between them, and two other windows at the east and west ends. The roof was a continuation of that over the hall, and was supported by two stone arches resting on marble corbels, and rose in the centre into a lofty ridge. The passage to the kitchen crossed over an arched bridge with a lead roof over it and a larder on either side. The kitchen had five fireplaces, of which the back walls faced with tiles on edge are standing. That in the south-west corner is circular in shape, very spacious and deeply recessed. The roof of the kitchen was of timber covered with lead, and rose up to a great height in the centre in the form of an octagonal pyramid.

At the north-east corner of the hall are two doors, one leading to the staircase in the Alnwick Tower, the other into the vestibule, which is vaulted with ribbed arches. Opposite to this door is another which led by an arched passage to the chapel. This part of the building is described in the Parliamentary Survey as 'very faire, with seates and many other convenience, and very faire painted glasse windows.'

From Holles' notes we learn that the windows

contained many coats-of-arms, and figures of saints, and Latin rhymes recording its dedication by Bishop Alnwick to the Blessed Virgin Mary. It has of course almost entirely disappeared. At its west end were two floors of rooms containing a study with a lobby on the lower floor, and a withdrawing-room with a closet pew looking into the end of the chapel on the upper. The sill of the east window of the chapel may still be seen. A parlour beneath had a bay window, looking south: its flooring of tiles, stone fender, jambs of the fireplace, and a beautiful stone sideboard recess at the west end still exist.

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From this set of buildings running south-east was the Lesser Hall and dining-room, with a study at the lower end with vaults underneath. Two enormous buttresses will be noticed in the lower garden, shoring up the kitchen and cellars: they are probably of the date of Bishop Henry de Burghersh. It must be added that the grounds are private.

A Bishop's Palace is, properly speaking, the name used for his place of residence near his cathedral, such as has just been described; but it is obvious that, in a diocese such as Lincoln was, stretching from this county to Oxfordshire, and in the time of Remigius embracing no less than ten counties, the Bishop must have had manor-houses in various parts of the diocese to live in while he was journeying through from one place to another. Bishop Alexander's three castles—Sleaford, Newark, and Banbury—hardly come into this category, but he was perhaps more concerned with the militant and secular portion of his episcopate than with the spiritual.

At Nettleham, three miles north-east of Lincoln, are mounds in a field just inside the village which are the only remains of a manor-house of the Bishops of Lincoln, where they have entertained great kings

Lincoln like Edward 1. The manor was given by King Henry 1. to Robert Bloet, second Bishop, in these terms: 'Henry King of England to Osbert vice-earl of Lincolia, and to Picot son of Colsuen and to all his barons, and faithful ones, both French and English of Lincolnscire, greeting. Know Ye, that I have given to God and to the Blessed Mary of Lincolia, and to Robert the Bishop, who was Chancellor of King William my brother, my Manor of Netilham with everything that belongs to it.' It, as well as the Lincoln Palace, was embattled and fortified by Bishop Burghersh and is still ecclesiastical property.

Stow Park, about nine miles north-west of Lincoln, the favourite residence of Saint Hugh, and of the famous tame swan, was dealt with in the same way by Bishop Burghersh: all buildings of mediæval date have utterly disappeared, but the farmstead is still enclosed by a moat. The Bishop of Lincoln had some land here before the Conquest, as mentioned in Domesday, and it continued to belong to the See of Lincoln till it was alienated by Bishop Rands (or Holbeach) with thirty-three other manors at the end of the reign of King Henry VIII.

Lyddington in Rutlandshire, three miles south of Uppingham, was Episcopal property at any rate in the time of Domesday, and continued to be so till the reign of Edward VI., who granted it to the Burleigh family (now represented by the Marquis of Exeter) who possess it at the present day. It also was fortified and embattled by Bishop Burghersh, but no trace of his work remains. The existing house is due to Bishop Russell, whose coat-of-arms appears on the walls and the rose in the quarries of the windows of the Great Hall, where are also the arms of Bishop Longland. The small figure in the window of the Bishop's withdrawing-room is sup-

posed to be that of Bishop William Smith. The Great or Banqueting Hall still exists with a finely carved ceiling, original doors, open fireplace, and oriel window. Several of the hooks below the cornice from which tapestry was hung still remain. In the withdrawing-room opening out of the hall is the original fireplace with the arms of Bishop Russell carved above. An ante-room leads into a small room, doubtless the Bishop's bedroom. Underneath the hall are remains of the kitchen, buttery, and other offices. These were divided up and a great part of the staircase rebuilt in 1602, when Thomas, Lord Burleigh, converted the Palace into a hospital for a warden, twelve poor men and two poor women, and gave it the name of Jesus Hospital.

Buckden in Huntingdonshire, some three or four miles south-west of the county town, was a much used house of the Bishops of Lincoln, especially during the time when the Palace at Lincoln was uninhabitable. Bishop Grosseteste (who died there in 1253) is related to have built the Great Hall at Buckden, which was pulled down during the time of the Commonwealth. A fine brick tower was built by Bishop Russell, and the house was much repaired by Bishop Sanderson. In Bishop Kaye's time (1827-1853) Buckden was sold, and a small estate bought at Riseholme, two miles north of Lincoln, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners erected a goodly mansion for the Bishop there. This, as mentioned above, was in its turn sold in 1886, and the Bishop of Lincoln now lives in his Palace in the City which gives the name to his see, and in close proximity to his cathedral.

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#### THE CLOSE

The precincts of the cathedral must originally have



Lincoln included about the south-east quarter of the first Roman city : being bounded northwards by Eastgate, eastwards by the Roman east wall, southwards by the first Roman south wall, and westwards by the street called Steep Hill and Bailgate. An extension eastwards took place of necessity when the Angel Choir was being built, for which a royal licence was granted in 1255 to break through the city Roman Wall.

As the safety of the members of the cathedral body had been imperilled by reason of thieves and murderers who haunted the streets and lanes in and near the precincts, Bishop Oliver Sutton persuaded King Edward I., no doubt while he was staying with him at Nettleham in February 1285, to grant permission to enclose the precincts with a wall. This licence is dated at Westminster, May 8, 1285, and allowed the Dean and Chapter to enclose the precincts of the cathedral with a wall 12 feet high, and 'our street of Pottergate, and our street from the royal road of the Bail to the gate of Eastgate, with two lanes next the said street on the north,' and that the Dean and Chapter should furnish this wall with sufficient gates with locks, to the custody of which they and their successors should appoint one of their body to close them at dusk and open them at sunrise. This will account for the extension northwards of the Close, as the two lanes were James Street and East Bight. But the licence necessary to embattle the wall and to strengthen it with towers—the *licentia crenellandi*—was not granted till December 6, 1318, when King Edward II. at York, after confirming his father's licence, gives an additional licence to raise the walls 12 feet higher, and to erect as many turrets as the Dean and Chapter pleased.

For the eastern extension, still further, we have the evidence of a royal licence obtained in 1316 by

Antony Bek, Chancellor of the Cathedral, to stop up and divert the course of a certain lane, *venella quædam*, running from Eastgate to Pottergate, evidently the present Winnowsty Lane. He was about to move the Chancery from the site of the Works Chantry (which will be mentioned presently) in Eastgate to its present site, and he wished for a more extensive garden. The removal, however, was not completed till 1321, so the wall and towers on the east side of the Chancery garden must date from about that time.

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In another royal *licentia crenellandi*, which was granted to Bishop Burghersh for the east wall of his Palace immediately adjoining the Close, is a reference to the licences already recited, 'which precinct by leave of our forefathers is closed in and embattled, and several turrets are made therein.' This was granted in 1329 by King Edward III. Two years earlier he had directed a writ to Walter de Fiskeneý and Robert de Malberthorp, on an application from the Dean and Chapter for a grant of the wall of the Bail and a part of the city wall, which were ruinous, that they may repair and crenellate them, and use them for part of the enclosure of the precinct. The Close wall thus built had gatehouses on to the principal streets, and these gatehouses were double in every case except in that of Pottergate Arch, where the slope of the hill was steep enough to warrant one gatehouse alone being sufficient protection. This gives (as indeed the licence of King Edward I. itself does) a lively idea of the amount of defence required in those far-off turbulent times by presumably peaceful ecclesiastics. Of the pair of gatehouses which protected the approach from the Bail and Castle Hill to the Minster, only one, the inner one, is left. The outer and western one

crossed between St. Mary Magdalene's Church—where two blank windows testify to its past existence—to the Castle Café. It closely resembled the eastern gatehouse, having three gateways through it, a low room lighted by small windows on the first floor, and a top story lit by four large windows. It seems to have been called 'The Magazine House' in the Checquer. Having been allowed to get into a state of great disrepair, it was pulled down in 1816. On the south side of the little square between the two gatehouses were four picturesque half-timbered houses, with chambers projecting forward on wooden posts, so as to leave a kind of rude piazza or portico from one gate to the other. This square was the 'Checquer' proper, and in leases was called the 'privilege of the Checquer.' The picturesque portico was also removed in 1816. The remaining gatehouse is a very good example of an Edwardian or Decorated gatehouse, with central and two side archways. It is of three stories, and has octagonal stair turrets on its eastern face. The archways, which still retain the hooks for the hinges of the doors and the slots for the bars for securing them, are nicely groined in brick with stone ribs and bosses. One of these latter, in the northern arch, has a representation of the Crucifixion on it, and another in the south arch has either a castle or the Close itself complete with gate and towers.

Pottergate Arch, though much smaller and plainer, is still a very interesting piece of work. Above the one arch which spans the road and footway, was the chamber for the gatekeeper, to be reached by a doorway (now blocked up) to the stair, just within the arch. A fireplace corbelled out on the north front, terminating in an embattled chimney, is noticeable. The wall westwards was cut through, and some houses pulled down a few years ago, to afford an alternative

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POTTERGATE ARCH

route for driving to that passing through the arch, to the great relief of the traffic. These two gates are the only remaining ones, with the exception of a very picturesque postern at the head of the Greestone Stairs which join Lindum Road to the Minster Yard at what used to be called appropriately enough Stairhead. The name Greestone is one variant out of many (*Grecian* was another) derived from the word *Greesen*—the steps—a word used not infrequently by Shakespeare, as where Viola says to Olivia in *Twelfth*



Lincoln *Night*, 'No, not a *grize*'; and in *Timon of Athens*, 'Every *grize* of Fortune'; and in Wickliffe's Bible for 'Paul stood on the stairs,' we read 'Poul stood on the *greezen*.' Also, with reference to these very steps, an entry referring to the Precentor in the City Records for the year 1523, under the 17th January, runs as follows: 'Whereas the Chanter of the Cathedral has felled the ashes that grew in the churchyard that was late of the Church of the Trinity at the *Gresfoot*,' etc.

Starting from the Exchequer Gate, the Close wall ran northwards to the east of the White Hart Hotel, across Eastgate to the Black Horse Inn. Here there were two gates, one in the line of the wall at the street crossing, and the second just at the junction of Eastgate and Bailgate. From an old view of the latter it seems to have had only one arch, to have been of two stories high, and to have had a long low window above the arch. From the Black Horse it ran northwards to the County Assembly Rooms (a portion of it was only pulled down about six years ago), where it turned eastwards, bounding the gardens of Deloraine Court (the north gable indeed of the house is built in and on the wall), and northwards once more through Cottesford Place to the East Bight. Here a gateway may be noticed in the wall, which was brought from the old Deanery when that house was pulled down. Hence, and the wall is actually existing, it ran eastwards almost to the north-east corner of the Roman city (thus showing conclusively that when it was built the Roman wall was in a ruinous condition, or use would certainly have been made of the latter), and then southwards to Eastgate, where there were two other gates. That nearest to the Deanery, again only existing in an old view (perhaps many of its wrought stones are in the

wall of Atherstone Place), seems to have been much like Pottergate Arch, with one archway of two stories, and finished above with battlements and embrasures for crossbows. The other was eastwards of the East Bight to the Deanery stables, and has been pulled down also. The existing wall on the east of the Deanery stables runs to the north-east angle of the cloisters. It there engaged several of the buttresses of the chapter-house, and crossed the northern entrance to the Minster Yard where the modern Priory Gate (a purely fictitious name due to the fancy of a tenant of the 'Priory' house hard by) represents one of the gates. The original gate here was the muniment room of the Minster, had one archway of two stories high, with battlemented roof: another gate crossed the street from the half-timbered house (restored and almost rebuilt, partly to serve as a shelter for country-folk while waiting for the carriers' carts) on the east to where is now an open space of grass, so barring the way into the Close from Eastgate. A quaint red-roofed inn—the Dolphin—stood on this green facing north, while facing Priory Gate were two houses, originally one, called the College House, where the residentiaries 'formerly entertained and fed their vicars and officers, in lieu of which feedings they have now a stated allowance in money paid them annually by the Dean and Chapter.'

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The southern part of the house was devoid of interest, the northern was really the shell of an Early English hall, with remains of lancet windows, and a good Early English doorway with chamfered orders and nook shafts, of which only the foliage capitals remained. This doorway is now in use by the Dean in the north wall of the cloisters of the Minster. In 1770 this house was leased to Sir Francis Barnard,

Lincoln Bart., of Nettleham, who was connected with the Beresfords of Leadenham, and who lived about twenty years in or near Lincoln, holding various legal appointments such as Steward of the City, Proctor of the Consistory Court, and Receiver-General for the Dean and Chapter. He was afterwards Governor of the Province of New Jersey (1758), and of Massachusetts (1760), in the troublous days just before the War of Independence. It is rather remarkable that two Governors of New Jersey and Massachusetts, as we shall see presently in dealing with the houses and their former occupants in Pottergate, lived in the Minster Yard of Lincoln. For many years this house was used for the Judges' Lodgings, and afterwards for the Minster School.

From Priory Gate the wall is high, and in a fairly good state of preservation: corbels in it as it bounds the Priory garden show either that wooden buildings were nestling against it, or, as is more probable, that a platform ran along it on its inner side, at a convenient height from which to defend the wall. The Priory House, which was really one of the old residentiary houses, itself is made up partly by a picturesque and lofty tower in the Close wall with an embattled chimney and Decorated window. The lower story of this tower served as a cellar and buttery, and the hooks for the hinges of the buttery-hatch still exist in the jambs of an arched doorway opening into the tower. At the north end of what has been the hall is a beautiful sideboard recess, corbelled out on figures, with panelled front and ballflower ornament of Decorated date. The remainder of the house is exceedingly picturesque, with its high-pitched gables and massy group of chimneys.

In Eastgate, just before it divides into Langworth

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TOWER IN WINNOWSTY LANE

Gate and Greetwell Gate, was a well, wherein on the eleventh day of August 1498 a certain Joanna Burton fell, it being 11 fathoms deep with another fathom of water in it, and according to the sworn testimony of nine women whose names are chronicled, she remained there for the space of one hour, and all the women declared on their oath that the blessed Virgin Mary embraced her in her arms, and said, 'Hold the by this Rop to thee have oyer help.' (The account is written in Latin, but the Virgin's words were, fortunately for Joanna, apparently in the vulgar tongue.)

The wall running eastwards has another of the 'turelli,' or small towers, in Mr. Burton's garden; another in the Chancery garden, where it is bounded by Winnowsty Lane (supposed to be Wainwellsty, where the wagoners would rest their horses after the steep ascent of the hill). This is illustrated very happily by Mr. New, and a third is in Mr. Tweed's garden.



Cutting off a curious angle between the lane and Wragby Road it runs south-westwards along the latter to Pottergate Arch. Hence it runs almost to the Lindum Road, turns due west, across the 'Greezen' at the postern already mentioned, on the southern boundary of the Vicars' Court gardens to the line of the second Roman east wall dividing Vicars' Court from the Bishop's Palace.

Turning northwards on the line of this wall, it goes as far as the first Roman south wall, and then proceeds westwards in that line on the south of the Sub-deanery and Precentory almost to Steep Hill, and so to the Exchequer Gate again. Opposite the Galilee Porch still exists in the wall the gateway pierced by Bishop Robert Bloet by permission of the king (Henry I.), and there has been a gatehouse here with chambers over the arch, of which the front wall alone remains.

As we learn from the Survey of the Houses in the Minster Close of Lincoln, taken by order of Parliament in 1649 and 1651, most of them were ruined or greatly despoiled in the attack on the Close by the forces under the Earl of Manchester's command. This will account in some measure for the comparative modernity of so many of the residentiary houses, and the absence of mediæval character which strikes every one coming into the Close.

The Precentory was amongst those which suffered most: it was partly rebuilt after the Restoration, and has been greatly improved and added to by Precentors Trimnell (1718-1756), Pretzman (in 1827), and Venables (1879), to the last of whom is due the existing front, which was designed by the late J. L. Pearson, R.A. Beneath the Precentory, as already mentioned, still exists the Roman hypocaust.

The Sub-deanery has a picturesque Tudor oriel

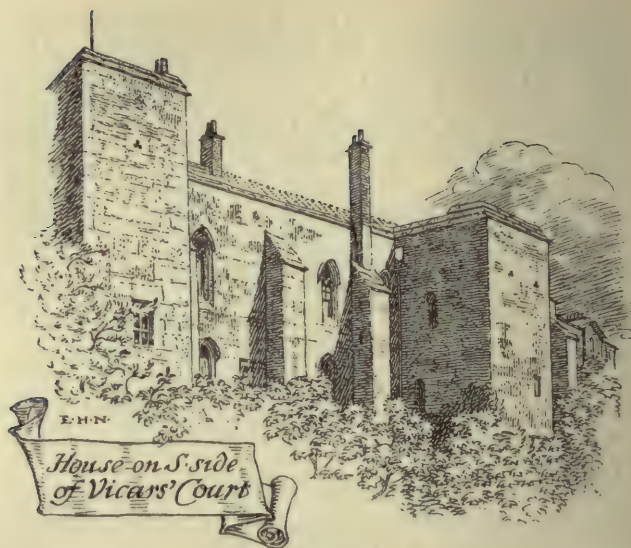
window at the east end, and a fine hall with double staircase, dating from the eighteenth century. The celebrated Archdeacon Paley became Sub-dean in 1795, and his *Natural Theology* was published in 1802, during his tenure of the Sub-deanery, and was probably written in this house.

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The Cantilupe Chantry is in the shape of the letter L, the original entrance being in the north gable towards the west. The tracery of all of the windows is modern, though on ancient lines: they were originally grated with iron bars. On the north gable on either side of a boldly projecting oriel, which is supported on grotesque heads, are shields bearing the arms of Cantilupe: *gules a fesse vairé between three leopards' heads inverted jessant fleur-de-lys or*; and Zouche: *gules ten bezants or*, a canton *ermine*.

The founder of the Chantry was Nicholas, Lord Cantilupe, who died in 1355, and is buried under an altar-tomb with a recumbent figure on it in the Cantilupe Chantry, which is the southernmost at the east end of the retrochoir of the Minster. In 1396 William la Zouche leaves to Elizabeth, his wife, a cross, etc., formerly belonging to 'Dominus Nicholas de Cantilupe.' William de Cantilupe married Eva de Braose, the great heiress of Abergavenny, and their daughter Millicent married Eudo la Zouche, so bringing the Chantry into the latter family. In the gable is a small niche containing a seated figure of our Lord, the head crowned with thorns, and the breast exposed to show the wound in the side; both hands are broken off.

The Vicars' Court owes its establishment to Bishop Oliver Sutton in the years 1280-1300, the site which he granted to the Vicars being known as the 'Boun-garth,' a Scandinavian term identical with the



Danish 'Bundeguard'—a farmhouse or farmyard. To this Bishop and his executors most of the existing buildings are due, which may have been altered or completed by Bishop Buckingham (1363-1398) as his coat-of-arms (*arg.* a cross sarcelly or botonnée *sa.*), appears on the houses on the east side of the court, and on the entrance gateway, and in the latter there are two windows of Perpendicular date, which probably are part of his work.

The court is entered by a gatehouse with a beautifully panelled vaulted ceiling and newel stair to the upper rooms, in one of which over the gate is a water drain under an ogee panel. On the front of the gatehouse are three shields bearing the arms of Bishop Buckingham as already mentioned: France

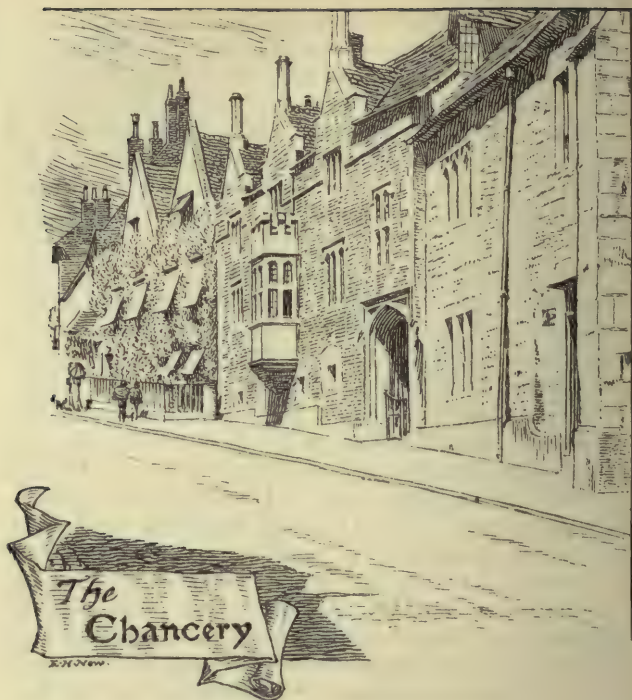
ancient and England quarterly, and Beauchamp *gules* a fesse between six cross crosslets *or*. On the west of the gatehouse, which had on that side the serving-hatch, was the common or dining hall, now destroyed. In this gatehouse William Hilton, the celebrated artist, Royal Academician, and brother-in-law of De Wint, was born. A cenotaph in the Cantilupe Chapel commemorates them both. On the east was the kitchen.

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The southern house is the least altered, and has some beautiful two-light Decorated windows, the original oaken roof, and a newel stair. Two enormous buttresses support it on the south, giving it almost the appearance of a fortress. In this house Prebendary Sympson is reported to have entertained Dr. Johnson when on his way to or from visiting Bennet Langton at Langton near Spilsby. Johnson writing in 1766 to Langton says: 'I should have known nothing of you or of Langton, from the time that dear Miss Langton left us, had I not met Mr. Simpson of Lincoln, one day in the street, by whom I was informed that Mr. Langton, your Mamma, and yourself had been all ill, but that you were all recovered.' And Boswell says in 1778 (the 'him' being, of course, Johnson): 'I wrote to him on the 25th of May from Thorpe in Yorkshire, one of the seats of Mr. Bosville, and gave him an account of my having passed a day at Lincoln, unexpectedly, and therefore without having any letters of introduction, but that I had been honoured with civilities from the Rev. Mr. Simpson, an acquaintance of his, and Captain Broadley of the Lincoln Militia.'

The latest portion of the buildings, the stables, once a granary, is on the south-east—a long line of late and coarse Perpendicular work; on its eastern





gable bearing the shield of Bishop Alnwick (1436-1447), *argent* a cross moline *sable*, and the rebus of John Breton, Prebendary of Sutton, *i.e.* B.R.E., with a cask or tun below.

The Chancery was built, as mentioned above, by Antony Bek when Chancellor about 1316, and in the time of Bishop Russell (1480-1494) the red brick front and beautiful stone oriel window, the western wooden screen in the chapel and two squints (to allow

those in the upper chamber to assist at Mass) were made. The hall unfortunately was pulled down in 1714, but at the north end of it still remain three pointed doorways of Bek's date. That on the east opened into the buttery, that on the west into the cellar. The present debased gablets are due to Chancellor Pretymen in the last century (1814-1859). The Choristers' House immediately north of the Chancery, now occupied by the cathedral organist, has a picturesque gabled front of the date 1616, but the interior of it has been wholly reconstructed. Two houses, Nos. 4 and 5 Pottergate, have been almost rebuilt, though the former still retains a pretty oriel window. They together composed the mansion of the Pownall family, one member of which, Thomas, was Governor of New Jersey in 1763, of Massachusetts in 1757, and afterwards of South Carolina in 1759. In this house, as has been previously mentioned, King William III. was entertained by Mr. Dorell on October 29, 1695.

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Atherstone Place, opposite the Deanery, now divided into two houses, has a fine Norman doorway, and has had a fine hall, now divided up. In 1564 this house was let to Sir Francis Ayscough, whose sister, Anne Ayscough, was burnt at the stake in Smithfield in 1546: he is under suspicion of having betrayed her to the Government, but some authorities blame her husband, who was one of the Kyme family, entirely for this. In 1672 it was tenanted by the heroic Chancellor of the diocese, Sir Edward Lake, who received sixteen wounds at the battle of Naseby fighting for King Charles, and had a baronetcy granted to him. In later times the house was let to Thomas Assheton Smith, Master of the Burton Foxhounds, and Sir Richard Sutton.

The Burghersh Chantry in James Street was founded by the powerful family of Burghersh, the Chantry Chapel being at the east end of the north aisle of the retrochoir of the Minster. The house itself has a (now blocked) Decorated window in what was the refectory, some good panelling and mulioned windows. This house seems to have been peculiarly attractive to Jacobites, as in 1752 the Earl of Dunmore (the Hon. William Murray, whose allegiance to Prince Charlie in 1745 was a matter of much rejoicing among the followers and supporters of the prince) was living here. He had been arraigned at the Court held at Southwark for high treason (for his share in the rebellion of 1745) in 1746, and pleaded guilty, but obtained the king's most gracious pardon. His wife was Catherine, daughter of his uncle, also a strong Jacobite, Lord Nairne. The earl and countess are both buried in the Burghersh Chantry Chapel. Their eldest son, John, who succeeded his father as Earl of Dunmore in 1756, was also Governor of New York and Virginia in 1770. Again, in 1808, Lady Nelthorpe occupied the house, the widow of Sir John Nelthorpe, Bart., of Scawby, and the daughter of Andrew Willoughby, secretary to Prince Charles Edward. In 1870 and 1871, King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, was entertained here by the Right Hon. Henry Chaplin, who was Master of the Blankney Foxhounds.

Deloraine Court, also in James Street, is built in the shape of a capital T, the top running north and south (the south wing is leased off as a separate house, and contains the bas-relief of St. Catherine and one Transitional Norman pillar), the stem being formed of the dining-hall, which was open to the roof and had a musicians' gallery, of which a portion remains.

It is now cut up into floors. The foot of the T is composed of kitchens and pantry on the ground floor, and a fine oak-panelled room with good chimney-piece and large room behind, above. The drawing-room is oak-panelled with plaster frieze above, bearing the date 1602. The windows, one of which is a projecting bay, retain their original mullions of about half a century earlier. Beneath the drawing-room was the wine and beer cellar, containing two Norman or Transitional pillars, and having walls nearly 4 feet thick. A passage in oak and plaster leads from the hall to the kitchen, which has a large depressed arch over the fireplace, baking oven, and wheels and hook for the smoke-jack. It was a residentiary house till the Reformation, since when it has been occupied by Sir Martin Lister of the Burwell family (the celebrated Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, may very possibly have stayed here through her connection with the Listers), Sir Thomas Meres who gave the very beautiful great brass chandelier to the Minster, the Countess of Deloraine, a daughter of Gervase Scrope of Cockerington, from whom the house has its name, second wife and widow of Henry, Earl of Deloraine, grandson of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth and Ann, Duchess of Buccleuch (it is interesting to note that Scott's poem with William of Deloraine in it was supposed to have been recited to this Duchess Ann), and George Tennyson, grandfather of the poet, and founder of the Tennyson D'Eyncourt family of Bayons Manor, in this county (for King Charles I. see page 125).

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Of the original Deanery which was commenced during the episcopate of St. Hugh (c. 1200), only remain the north wall in Eastgate with a blocked window ornamented with shafts and dog-tooth moulding, and on the garden side the large hooded fireplace



and chimney of the thirteenth-century kitchen. The cresting of the present bow window also came from the old house. It was built round a court, and had a picturesque tower opposite the Dean's door in the north transept, built by Dean Fleming (1451-1483). The old house was almost entirely pulled down and a new Deanery built in 1847. A little stone lantern which came from the Works Chantry (just west of the Deanery) has been put in the gable of the Deanery over the front door.

Among the names of the Deans of the last fifty years appear those of some very notable for scholarship, such as J. A. Jeremie, J. W. Blakesley, and the present Dean (E. C. Wickham), who is one of the foremost living authorities on Horace. The Works Chantry (west of the Deanery) was formerly the habitation of the poor Chantry priests who celebrated Mass daily for the Founders of and Benefactors to the Fabric (before 1321 it was the Chancery, as was noted in the account of the Close wall). Their chapel (St. Anne's or the Founders') has been already noticed. The north front to Eastgate, which was probably the hall (described in the Parliamentary Survey as '30 foot long and 20 foot broad'), had three Decorated windows, and over the west doorway was the little stone lantern now over the entrance to the Deanery. This house was pulled down in 1827-28. From it westwards to Atton Place, opposite the end of James Street, was an archway which would protect the north side of the cathedral.

The Close (and, as we shall see later, the Bail also) had its own peculiar privileges: a court in the Galilee, a prison, constables, tolls, dues, with immunity from intrusion of the city and other bailiffs. It would appear that the Constable of the Castle (who

ruled supreme over the area of the Bail) still claimed his privileges over that part of the Close which was formerly within the city wall, the eastern boundary of the Bail being fixed in an Inquisition in the reign of King Edward III. at the west end of St. Hugh's shrine in the Minster (*in Monasterio*), and it is quite obvious that the shrine must have stood after the eastern enlargement of the cathedral on the line of the removed city wall. Another dispute is noted, also in the reign of King Edward III., between the authorities of the city and the Dean and Chapter with respect to some tolls and privileges. The latter body urged as part of their case that in the time of William the Conqueror there was neither mayor nor bailiffs of Lincoln, but only three provosts for the purpose of collecting the king's dues and taxes. After the Restoration the privileges of the Close had to be reasserted, whether through the obstinacy or want of tact on the part of the city authorities. The following extracts from the Chapter Records bear witness of this statement: 'To the Right Worshipful Mich. Honeywood, Doctor in Divinity and Dean of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Lincoln, and to the Chapter of the same Cathedral. The humble Petition of Robert Holmes and Richard Somercales, serjeants to the Sheriffs of the City of Lincoln, sheweth that through the licentiousness of the late times of usurpation when all things were laid in common, and the rights of the Church were violated, the Sheriffs of the City of Lincoln aforesaid and their Officers did take upon themselves to execute writs and other process within the Close of Lincoln (your own proper franchise in right of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln), and we as officers of the said Sheriffs have for a little lucre and contrary to our knowledge continued the said violation and intro-

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Lincoln mission by arresting one Mr. Browne, a clergyman, within the said Close of Lincoln, for which as it appears by the ancient customs of the said Close, we are amerced by the Jury on the Leet of the Galilee Porch holden for the said Close in October last the sum of fifty shillings apiece, which we do acknowledge to be justly and legally and favourably imposed upon us ; and we are ready and willing to submit ourselves to your Worship's mercy, promising for the future not to infringe or violate the franchise of the said Close ; and humbly beg that your Worships will accept of this our petition and promise, and moderate the said amerciament imposed upon us. And your Petitioners will ever pray,' etc. This Petition, as appears by the Chapter Act thereon, was accepted by the Dean and Chapter, and the petitioners were ordered to pay two shillings only to Harry Warless, Constable of the Close, in lieu of the amerciament.

Another example is as follows : ' An arrest within the Close and the Bailiff's submission.—April 8, 1669. Before the Dean at his house in the Close of Lincoln, in the presence of G. Winstanley, Notary public, appeared personally John Hall, of the City of Lincoln, and alleged that through ignorance he did arrest the body of one Smith of Welton, at the suit of William Langley of Dunholme, by virtue of a writ out of the Common Pleas, within the Close of Lincoln, without the consent of the Dean and Chapter first had and obtained, contrary to the liberties and franchise of the said Close : for which he humbly submits himself to the said Dean and Chapter, and doth hereby promise never to offend in the like manner again ; and desired the said Mr. Dean to accept of this his confession and submission, and to dismiss him from any further trouble about the premises (' Unde dictus Decanus accepit confessionem et submissionem

predicti, et eundem John Hall ab ulteriore molestatione in hac parte dimisit').

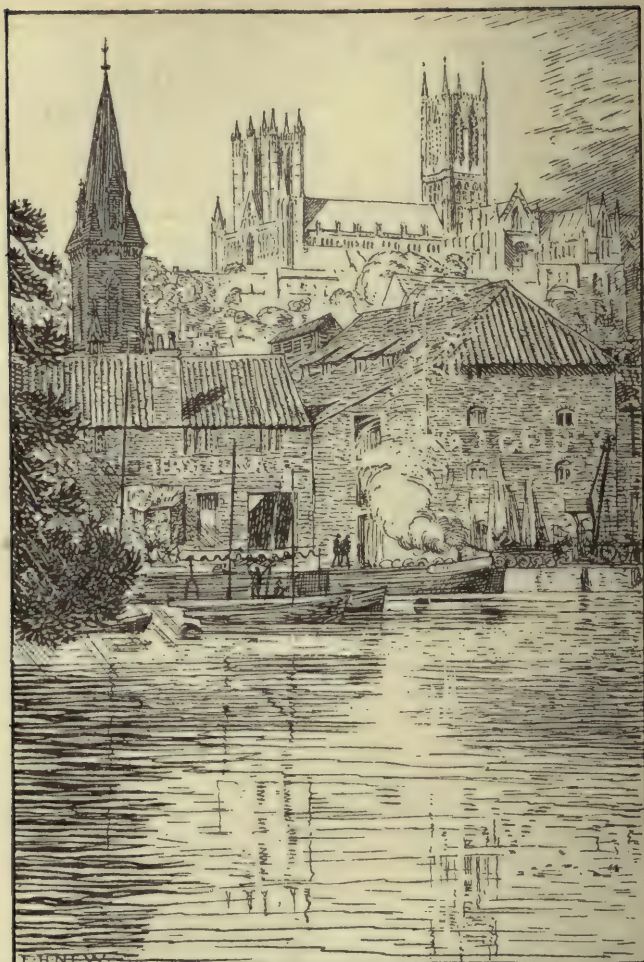
‘(Signed), J. HALL,  
‘Witness, G. Winstanley.’

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IN THE BISHOP'S PALACE





J.H. NEW

THE MINSTER *from* BRAYFORD

## CHAPTER IX

### THE PARISH CHURCHES



ST BENEDICT'S



PRIOR to the Reformation there appear to have been in the city of Lincoln at least forty-nine parochial churches, exclusive of chapels belonging to religious foundations (except that of the Holy Innocents, attached to the Leper Hospital, which had some kind of parish status) or such as that dedicated to St. Thomas

which was situated on the east side of the High Bridge, and which will be described later on in another chapter. Many of these were in existence, no doubt, before the Norman Conquest, and the remainder were probably founded not long after it. 'At a comparatively early period,' says the late Precentor Venables, 'this large number of churches began to prove rather a burden than a relief to the city.' The removal of the staple and the depression of other branches of commerce had by the early part of the fourteenth century inflicted a serious blow on its prosperity. And as has been noted above, in the upper part of the city great

Lincoln and widespread destruction was wrought in the attack and storming by the king's army, in the battle of Lincoln Fair in 1216. The numbers of its population sank, and whole parishes were deserted. In 1263 three of the parishes were united in one, and this union of benefices went on for many years, till in the third year of King Edward VI. a great scheme was sanctioned, in response to a memorial from the mayor and citizens, asking the royal permission to pull down the decayed churches and to unite the deserted to the more populous parishes, the material of the fabrics being assigned for the repair of the existing churches where needed, the mending of bridges and causeways, and to the relief of the poor. Letters-patent legalising this union of parishes were issued on May 3, 1549, the union was confirmed by Queen Mary in the first year of her reign, and the aforesaid forty-nine parish churches were reduced to thirteen, of which one, St. Benedict's, has been subsequently united to St. Peter-at-Arches.

Mention in detail has already been made of the woful plight to which many of these remaining churches were reduced in the course of the struggle between the King and Parliament; those outside the walls having been dismantled and pulled down to prevent them giving shelter or vantage to besiegers, while most of these within the enceinte of the city were damaged by cannon-shot, explosions of gunpowder, and rough usage on the part of the Earl of Manchester's victorious troops. Of late years the number (twelve) of parishes has increased to fifteen, two having been added recently (St. Andrew's and St. Faith's), while a third (All Saints') has come into existence during the year 1904.

The church of St. Paul in the Bail has with much probability been regarded as the modern representa-

tive, on the ancient site, of the first church built of stone by Paulinus, as recorded earlier in this history in the words of Bede, and to have preserved in its name rather a reminiscence of its founder and builder, Paulinus, than of the Apostle St. Paul. After having fallen down it was rebuilt in 1302, the chancel rebuilt in 1700 (having suffered much in the siege of 1643), the whole fabric pulled down and rebuilt in 1786, and once more—producing the church now existing—by the late Sir Arthur Blomfield in 1879.

Of almost equal age to St. Paul's comes the parish of St. Martin, known anciently as 'St. Martin's at Dernstall,' or 'Dernstaple,' 'St. Martin's on Bowyer hill,' or 'in Micklegate.'

Judging by a coin of the Lincoln Mint, which has on it the words LINCOLNIA CIVIT. and the name of St. Martin, and which is believed to have been struck very early in the tenth century, St. Martin would be then regarded as the patron saint of the city. The church's original site was on the north side of St. Martin's Lane, where the tower (which was kept when the rest of the church was pulled down in 1876) and the graveyard remain.

Among the most influential parishioners was the family of Grantham, who lived in a house called the Cardinal's Cap (still in existence) at the north-west corner of Grantham Street and High Street. They had a mortuary chapel in the east end of the north aisle of the church, and on the oak benches appeared their crest, a demi-griffin *gules*, and coat-of-arms, *i.e. ermine* a gryphon segreant coward *gules*, beaked and legged *azure*.

Some of the monuments of this family remained in the old tower until a few years ago.

This church also was terribly shattered by the Parliamentary cannon in 1644, and was rebuilt in



Lincoln 1740. A chronicler says as follows: 'The walls of St. Martin's stood uncovered ever since 1644, when it was battered by the Saints, till about five years ago, so that all of it, except part of the east end next the nave of the church, tumbled down: and I dare say, had never been rebuilt, but thro' the resolution of an honest gardener that happened to be appointed churchwarden' (ex Addit. MSS. Brit. Mus., 5841). A new church was erected in 1876 from the designs of Mr. Beckett of Nottingham. The church of St. Martin's was given by William the Conqueror (together with that of St. Lawrence, which will be referred to directly) to Remigius; its glebe, tithe, etc., being assigned to one of the Prebendaries or Canons, in return for which he was to serve the church.

The second church, St. Lawrence, and two others, All Saints in the Bail and St. Mary Magdalene's, are mentioned in the Domesday. Of these, the first, St. Lawrence, was situated in Butchery Street (formerly called St. Lawrence Lane), and was united to St. Martin's in 1552. It was assigned, with St. Leonard's Chapel in Eastgate, to the Prebendal Stall of South Carlton-cum-Thurlby (near Newark). A powerful family called Fitzmartin lived in the parish, and had a chantry or obituary chapel attached to one of the aisles, founded and endowed by Alexander Fitz-Martin about 1279. In 1538 the clerk of this parish is ordered to ring at nine o'clock at night and four o'clock in the morning, winter and summer; to receive 3s. 4d. from the chamberlains, and to ring holydays as well as other days upon pain of imprisonment. On the 16th June 1550 it is sad to record that four parishioners of this church were ordered to remain in ward until they had restored a bell lately taken by them out of the steeple of St. Lawrence,

weighing 12 cwt. 30 lb., or the said weight in bell metal, or else £16. The church seems to have stood for many years after the union of benefices, though disused for divine worship; it survived the Commonwealth epoch, and in the time of Charles II. was used as a pest-house, for the reception of victims, when Lincoln was visited by the plague. Its steeple was standing when Browne Willis visited the city in 1718, but its foundations were rooted up in 1770, and its cemetery built over in 1820.

Domesday says of All Saints, 'The fourth carucate' (out of the twelve carucates of land which the citizens of Lincoln held outside the city) 'belonged to the Church of All Saints in the time of King Edward, and twelve tofts, and four crofts. Godric the son of Garewine had this Church and the land of the Church and whatever belonged to it. But as he had become a monk the abbot of Peterborough takes possession of it. But all the burgesses of Lincoln say that he has it unjustly, because neither Garewine nor Godric his son nor any other person could give property away from the City or from his relations without the King's leave. Earnwine the priest as heir at law to his relation Godric claims this Church and that which belongs to it.' The very pretty quarrel and the bringing in of the king's leave must justify this rather long quotation. The church of All Saints in the Bail was situated in the Black Horse Yard, on the north-west side of Eastgate. In 1318 Bishop John de Dalderby united this church with that of St. Mary Magdalene. The site was held by lease of the Dean and Chapter, under the name of 'Hortus fabricae.' The last fragment of its decayed steeple was taken down by a Chapter Order in 1610.

As to the third church, Domesday has the following entry: 'The remaining portion of the carucate of

Lincoln land, St. Mary, where is now the bishopric, had and has.' John de Schalby tells us 'that in the place in which the church of the blessed Mary Magdalene (in the Bail of Lincoln) was situated, Remigius erected his Cathedral Church. And in a certain part of the Cathedral Church itself, the parishioners of the said Church of the blessed Mary Magdalene heard the divine obsequies, and their infants were baptized in the font of the Cathedral Church, and in its graveyard the bodies of dead parishioners were committed to burial; through a certain priest of the Cathedral Church who administered to them the sacraments and sacramentals, specially deputed to this work by the dean and chapter of the said Cathedral Church.' This earlier Saxon church of St. Mary Magdalene, which was absorbed by Remigius's cathedral, is supposed to have covered some portion of the present nave area—a Saxon headstone, which was found in re-flooring the Morning Chapel, having doubtless stood in its burial-ground. This arrangement, however, of the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalene using part of the Minster, after existing for some two hundred years, became insupportable, and was remedied as follows, according to John de Schalby's account :

'Bishop Oliver Sutton (1280-1299) to obtain quiet for those ministering in the Cathedral Church frequently disturbed by the concourse of the parishioners of the former church of the Blessed Mary Magdalene—who from the time of the founding of the Cathedral Church had heard divine service in the western part of that church itself, and had partaken of the sacraments and sacramentals—procured the erection of a certain Chapel in honour of the Blessed Mary Magdalene in the yard of the Cathedral Church, being distant from it a sufficient interval.

And by consent of his Chapter and of the aforesaid parishioners he decreed that in that chapel those same parishioners should hear divine service and partake of the sacraments and sacramentals; except the baptism of the infants, whom he considered should be baptized in the font of the Cathedral Church, and the burial of dead parishioners, whom he wished to be buried in the graveyard of the said Cathedral Church.' Up to a comparatively recent time the only graveyard of this church was on the south side of the Minster nave. The 'certain part of the cathedral' mentioned before as being used by St. Mary Magdalene's parishioners, is now stated to be the 'western part' in the nave. Canon Christopher Wordsworth, in the second part of *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, says there was a rood-altar (*Sanctæ Crucis*—of the Holy Cross), under the lantern of the great central tower, either in the existing organ-loft or in front of the entrance to the choir. He also adds: 'There was about 1520-1536 a "Jhesus Mass"; but whether this involved a special Jesus Altar, I cannot say.' And again: 'Holy rood or altar of St. Cross which may have stood on the Choir Screen.' An altar with this title appears to have existed from early times, as Matthew Paris, writing about 1250, says that Remigius was buried in front of it; 'in prospectu altaris Sanctæ Crucis' are Giraldus Cambrensis' own words in describing the funeral, and he also mentions that the tombstone was broken in two by a fire in the cathedral in A.D. 1124, and that the body was translated to the north side of the altar of the Holy Cross after that event. So that there was, in all probability, an altar for parochial use somewhere in the nave, westwards of the present beautiful chancel screen. The walls of the present church of St. Mary Magdalene are on the old foundations, but



Lincoln the church had to be greatly repaired in 1638, it was ruined by the Parliamentarians in the capture of the upper city in 1644, and was rebuilt by the parishioners in 1695. Having been partly restored in 1866, it was transformed into a thoroughly satisfactory and beautiful little church by Messrs. Bodley and Garner in 1882.

Domesday further says: 'Colsuen' (or Coleswegen, a Scandinavian name) has in the city of Lincoln 'four tofts of the land of Cole his grandson; and without the city he has thirty-six houses, and two churches to which nothing belongs, which he built on the waste which the king gave him, and which was never before built upon.'

The late Professor Freeman considered that these two unnamed churches were those of St. Mary-le-Wigford and of St. Peter-at-Gowts, which, both of them, as we shall see presently, exhibit much pre-Norman work in their towers; and he consequently argued that the existence of this pre-Norman style of building after the Norman Conquest was an instance of men going on in the style to which they were accustomed uninfluenced by the foreign, newer ideas. But in all probability the truer view of the matter is this: that Coleswegen's land and churches were in Butterwick, on the east side of Broadgate, and that the churches he built were either St. Austin's in Baggerholme, or St. Rumbald's and St. Peter's 'ad fontem,' as we find his son 'Picot, son of Colsuan,' giving the last-mentioned church to the abbey of St. Mary's, York. Also, it has been pointed out by Mr. Loftus Brock that the character of some parts of the stonework in St. Mary-le-Wigford's and St. Peter-at-Gowts bears a very close resemblance to the earliest work at Stow Church, which was burnt by the Danes in 870 and restored in the tenth century.

St. Mary - le - Wigford's, which is close by the Great Northern Station, has a fine, tall, massive western tower (devoid of buttresses and inside staircase), four coupled belfry windows with midwall shaft, having a curious knob volute, and a cresting of Perpendicular date. Below the belfry stage is a torus moulding, marking a considerable narrowing of the upper story. There is also long and short work, at the junction of the tower and the nave. On the west side of the tower close to the entrance door is the slab of stone, already mentioned as containing a Roman epitaph to Bruscus and Carssonna his wife. In the triangular space above is recorded the dedication of the church in Saxon times, reading from below upwards: 'Eirtig had me built and endowed to the



praise of Christ and St. Mary' (P Eirtig me let wirce | an 7 flos godia | n Criste to lofe 7 Sancte | Marie). It is interesting to note that in the south aisle wall there is a piece of string-course exactly similar to the pattern of a label over the south window at Stow. The eastern tower arch is fine, plain and circular with broad billeted imposts. The nave of three bays, chancel of two bays, and chancel arch are of Early English date. The pillars are clustered, and are composed of banded shafts detached in circular recesses on a polygonal pier set diamond-wise. They have circular bases with deep water-bearing hollows. The foliage of the capitals is stiff and conventional, closely resembling that of the nave capitals in the Minster, and so dating from about the middle of the Early English period. Curiously the foliage is not completed in one stone; possibly the capitals have been lengthened. The arrangement at the east end of the chancel is original and interesting. It consists of two lancet windows separated externally by a buttress with a quatrefoiled 'vesica piscis' in the gable above. Two 'low side windows' once in the south wall of the chancel now light the vestry, and a new south aisle was built in 1878, retaining the Early English doorway and windows of three lights with simply intersecting mullions which were in the original south wall of the nave. In the returns to Bishop Thomas in the years 1744-1761 St. Mary's appears as the only church down hill where there was service once every Lord's Day and a monthly Communion. On the High Street front of the churchyard is an elegant little conduit formed out of fragments of the old White Friary, from the site of the present Midland Station. It is mentioned by Leland as 'The new castle of the conduit,' and so was probably erected not long before his visit. The carriage of

water from the eastern hill was due to the Grey Friars.

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The church of St. Peter in Wigford or at Gowts stands considerably farther south down the High Street, below St. Mary's Guildhouse close to the Gowts (channels or water-courses, from the Anglo-Saxon word *gut*, as at Oxford 'The Gut'), which gave it its name, and which—possibly Roman in origin—ran straight across the street from the Witham to the Sincil Dyke so as to carry off any accumulation of water on the western side of the suburb. This church also has a tall, square, western tower, with belfry windows of the coupled circular-headed type, midwall shaft and projecting capitals. On the west face of the tower is a rude piece of sculpture intended for St. Peter with his Key. On each side of the tower will be noticed a piece of 'long and short' work, giving the width of the original Saxon nave, which is probably of still earlier date than the tower, as it is not bonded into the latter. In the east wall of the tower over the massive tower arch inside the church is a window for the use of the sacrist to time the ringing of the bells. There is an Early English arcade in the nave, the pillars being composed of a square centre set diamond-wise, with four keeled shafts projecting from each side. The capitals are of an early style resembling those at Waddington and St. Hugh's work in the Minster. The arches are quite plain and simply splayed. The chancel arch and north aisle were of a heavy Norman style, were rebuilt in 1853, and the new chancel was built in 1888. On the south side of the chancel next to the nave is a deeply splayed Norman window with shafts in the jambs and a cable moulding. The chantry chapel in the south aisle was founded in 1347 by Ralph Jolyff, citizen and merchant, for the souls of



Lincoln himself and his two wives, Amisia and Cecilia. The arched opening between the aisle and the chancel still exists, the effigies having unfortunately been removed and destroyed during some alterations and repairs in 1780. The inscription on the arch is as follows: RADULFUS JOLVF SUA CON JUX AC AMISIA HIC SIMUL HUMATUR QUIBUS ISTA CAPELLA PARATUR VIRGINE MATER THEOS QUI SIBI SALVET EOS PRO QUIBUS ORETIS OPUS HOC QUICUNQ' VIDETIS (*Mater* obviously is a mistake for *Matre*, which improves both the grammar and the scansion). In this church was an inscription to the memory of one of the chaplains of the Guild of St. Mary whose local habitation was a few yards higher up the High Street. Here also are monuments of the Gardiner, Gonville, and Bromhead families (the hero of Rorke's Drift, the late Major Gonville Bromhead, was presented with a sword of honour by the city—as he belonged to this family), whose house was at No. 124, which will be noticed later on. The Norman tub font ornamented with round-headed arches and pillars is interesting.

Besides St. Mary-le-Wigford's and St. Peter-at-Gowts, St Benedict's, just below the High Bridge, has a tower (rebuilt) of much the same character, the belfry story showing round-headed coupled two-light windows, with a midwall shaft. The nave was probably pulled down and the tower rebuilt after the Restoration. All that is now left of the church (in addition to the tower) is a charming little chancel, of very Early English character, with a good east window of Decorated date, having curvilinear tracery, and well-designed ogee-arched Decorated sedilia. The north aisle is of Perpendicular date. A very fine toned bell, dated 1585, bearing the crest of the Barber Surgeons (an 'opinacus' or—half in front being a dragon, the hinder half a lion with a camel's tail) and

encircled with ornamental bands of arabesque work and the text 'Sacra Trinitate Fiat Hec Campana Beata,' which once hung in this tower, was purchased for St. Mark's Church, which was rebuilt by Mr. W. Watkins.

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St. Margaret 'super montem' in the Close also had a low square tower without staircase turret. In the upper story on the east and west faces were coupled round-headed lights with midwall shafts. It stood on the south-east portion of the Minster Green, and the parish has been joined with that of St. Peter in Eastgate. This had a lofty and slender tower, very similar to that at St. Peter-at-Gowts. In the top-most stage were coupled round-headed windows with midwall shafts. A small window opening into the church on the east side formed the communication between it and the belfry, for the information of the ringers when to sound the bells. The church was left in a ruinous condition after the Commonwealth till 1776, when it was entirely pulled down and a small mean erection substituted. This in turn was replaced by the present church (in which the disadvantages of nineteenth-century plate tracery are apparent) from the designs of the late Sir A. W. Blomfield in 1870.

The finest new church in Lincoln is that of St. Swithin's, from the designs of the late Mr. James Fowler of Louth, which was erected in 1869. The old church stood more to the westward, a few yards from the south Roman wall, and was destroyed in May 30, 1644, by some live sparks from an explosion of gunpowder on the Cornhill which were wafted on to the roof and kindled it. The tower and spire are of particularly fine character. In the church is kept the Roman altar, already described, which was dug up while the foundations were being excavated.

The existing church of St. Peter-at-Arches—the

Lincoln Stonebow ('ecclesia S. Petri ad Arcus in le Briggate'), the city church *par excellence*, dates from the year 1724, when it was built by the Corporation from the plans of Mr. Hayward. The peal of eight bells, cast by Rudhall of Gloucester, was also a present from the city in 1728, as was also the altar-piece painted by Damini, from whose hand came also some frescoes in the north-east transept of the Minster. Richly wrought iron gates, originally at the west end of the church, were presented by Sir Thomas Lumley Saunderson, afterwards fourth Earl of Scarbrough; but in 1858, when the street was widened, they were sold to J. Hood, Esq., and set up at Nettleham Hall, three miles away from Lincoln.



*St Peter's  
at-gowts*

## CHAPTER X

### HOSPITALS, MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS, AND OTHER RELIGIOUS HOUSES



WINDMILL

AS a general rule in cathedral cities, few monastic institutions are found, and those few are poor and unimportant. The reasons for this are fairly obvious: in many of these cities the cathedral was a monastery itself, as at Peterborough and Durham; in others, such as Lincoln, Salisbury, and Lichfield, the

cathedral absorbed most of the interest and wealth, which would otherwise have gone elsewhere to the monks, nuns, or friars.

In Mr. Gibbons's *Early Lincoln Wills* is afforded clear evidence of this in the number and amount of the bequests 'to the Mother Church of Lincoln,' to 'the Fabric of Lincoln Minster,' and the like.

The earliest of these establishments is only known by the following extract from Leland's *Itinerary*: 'Where the Deane of Lyncolne's house is in the



Lincoln Minster Close of Lyncolne and thereabout was a Monastery of Nunes afore the time that Remigius began the new Mynster of Lyncolne, and of this Howse yet remayne certayne tokens of it.' Nothing, unfortunately, is left of this at the present time.

Next to this in chronological order come two hospitals which are both reputed to have been founded by Remigius, *i.e.* that of the Holy Innocents and that of St. Giles.

The Hospital of the Holy Innocents stood on what are still called the Malandry Fields (Maladerie=a leper-house in Norman French), at the north-west corner of the South Common, and immediately to the south of and outside the city Bargates. It was, as has already been conveyed by the name of its site, one of those charitably endowed hospitals for lepers, which mark by their names the number of places in England cursed in former times with that dreadful disease (supposed to have been the cause of the sores of Lazarus, hence the common designation of 'Lazar-house'), which has left our shores, it may be confidently hoped, for ever, banished by better food, less badly cured fish, and cleaner habits than those of the English in the eleventh century. Remigius endowed the hospital with a revenue of thirteen marks, but nothing is known about the constitution of the house or the number of the lepers. In the reign of Henry I., it was chartered and endowed by that king for the reception and maintenance of ten leprous brethren, a warden and two chaplains to say mass for the souls of the king and of his family, and a clerk to serve in the church of the hospital; the lepers were to be of the outcasts ('*ex ejectis*') of the city of Lincoln, and the presentation was vested in the mayor and other good men of the city. The king gave in perpetual alms £13 from the manor of Nettleham, and £1 rent

of tenements in Lincoln. Henry II. confirmed to the lepers of Lincoln his grandfather's gift, added some land near Horncastle of his own gift, and mentioned (to confirm) the gifts of several former benefactors. In the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (Edward I., 1281-1292), the community seems to have consisted of sisters, in addition to the brethren mentioned above, and of 'infirm persons.' The king appears to have kept the house under his own control, and changes in it had to receive his approval. No inmate could be removed except for misconduct, without reference to him. The number could not be increased without a special mandate from him or the chancellor, and when a brother or sister died notice had to be given to the chancellor, and a leper appointed to fill the vacancy had to be approved by him. Thus, on October 17, 1290, there is a licence for the admission of William le Forester, a leper, to the King's House of Lepers without Lincoln, for life. And on December 2 of the same year there was a royal grant, by patent, dated at Lincoln, for life, to Dionisia de Retford, widow, on the exhibition of one of the sisters of this hospital. The inmates dwelt in sections in different buildings, the chaplains in one house, the lepers by themselves, and the sisters in another house. The hospital was under the control of the warden, who appears to have been usually one of the chaplains, and there were 'canonical and daily distributions held in the same house.' In 1284 a grant made by Richard, chaplain and warden of this house, and the brethren thereof, to Thomas de Scandeford, chaplain, for the purpose of these distributions, received the royal confirmation. In the same year the custody of the hospital was granted to the Sheriff of Lincoln, during the king's pleasure, to apply the goods thereof to the benefit of the inmates. In 1290 the custody of the house was

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Lincoln intrusted to Andrew Fraunleys of Malteby, chaplain, during good behaviour, 'the house having suffered during the carelessness of former keepers.' A curious circumstance is recorded to have occurred at this hospital, which at the time was regarded as a miracle. In 1284 the king granted a pardon to Margaret, late wife of Alan Everard of Burgh by Weyneffet, county Lincoln, who was condemned by the justices of the last eyre for harbouring a thief, namely Robert, her son, and hanged on the gallows without Lincoln. But, being cut down and removed for burial to the Hospital for Lepers without the south gate of Lincoln, when near the place of burial she was seen to draw a breath and revive: the pardon was granted because her recovery was ascribed to a miracle, and she lived two years or more in the said hospital.

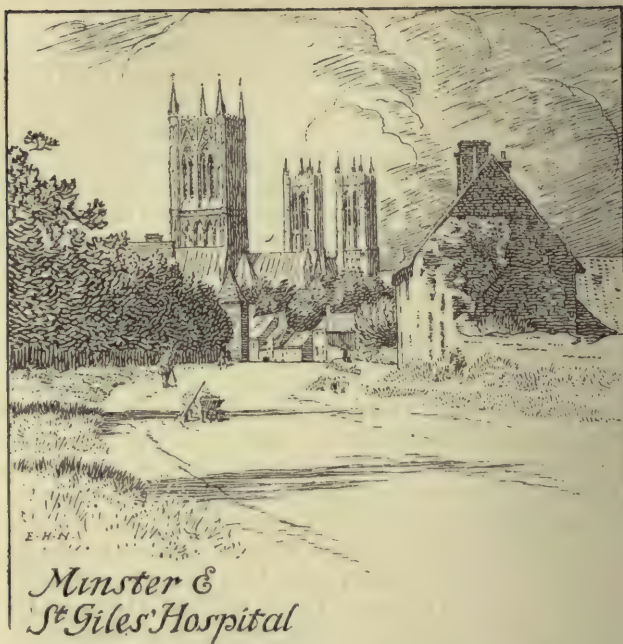
In 1294 Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln, addresses a requisition to the brethren to present a priest to serve in the church of the hospital. Also in the same year he addresses a brief to the Archdeacons of Lincoln and Stow, to allow alms to be collected on three Sundays or festivals every year for the hospital, which is stated to be in great want. The same thing happens in 1298. In 1303 an Indulgence of thirty days is granted to all benefactors of this hospital, and to those who shall succour the poor and infirm there residing. In 1456 it was annexed to the great leper-house at Burton Lazars. In the seventh year of King Edward VI. this hospital was granted to Sir William Cecil. In the first year of Queen Mary ten shillings was ordered to be paid from the Malandry to the incumbent of St. Botolph's. On November 7, 1767, three conveyances were made of parts of the Malandry fields for the augmentation of Normanby and Canwick vicarages and the rectory of Snarford. Of the hospital itself nothing is left: more than a

hundred and forty years ago a fire consumed the old farmhouse which stood on the old site. When the Great Northern loop-line was being made in 1875, a sepulchral slab was found, over a grave, in a spot which had apparently formed the chancel of the hospital church. It had on it a beautiful, freely foliated and crocketed cross, and two circular apertures, discovering the head and neck, and the feet in tight-fitting boots and stockings. A third oval opening showed the hands clasped in prayer. It was apparently of fourteenth-century date, and commemorated Jueyt (or Juetta), wife of William of Rauceby.

The Hospital of St. Giles belonged to the Augustinian Order, as did all the other Lincoln hospitals save that of the Holy Sepulchre. These hospitals were originally built for the rest and relief of travellers, and especially for pilgrims, and so naturally they were situated on the roadside, outside the city. Besides the poor and infirm, there were generally two or three religious brothers in these hospitals, one to be master or prior, and one or two to be chaplain or confessor: these observed the rule of the Order of St. Austin, and probably subjected the other inmates to some religious as well as local statutes. The remains of the Hospital of St. Giles are but small, consisting of a farmhouse on the Wragby Road, just east of the field whence, according to tradition, so much of our Lincoln oolite was quarried for the Minster. Running east from the south wall of the house is a wall pierced for two windows and a doorway, with a huge fireplace on the west, and a four-centred door: a view of the east end of this showing a high gable with a large east window filled with reticulated tracery in the head, is in existence. This was evidently the infirmary, with a chapel opening into it from the east, possibly screened off by a movable partition. Much of the

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same arrangement held at Browne's Hospital, Stamford, and elsewhere. The records of this hospital are singularly meagre; almost the only fact of interest is that about the year 1280 Oliver Sutton, then Dean, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, annexed the mastership to the vicars who performed divine offices in the Minster. Previous to this, indeed, some connection, according to Canon Maddison, had certainly existed between the vicars and the house of St. Giles, for in the grant of it from the Dean and Chapter mention is made of 'negligence' on the part of the vicars towards it, and in some of the deeds they are coupled with 'the master

and brethren of St. Giles', and are described as sojourning there. The conditions on which it was transferred to them were, that they should keep chaplains in it to sing masses for the souls of Walter de Welles and William de Newport, who had been great benefactors to the house; and a clause was inserted to the effect that weak and infirm vicars might live there. In 1385 we find Richard de Ravenser, Archdeacon of Lincoln, leaving the manor of Stapilford to be sold in aid of a chaplain of the vicars of Lincoln, to celebrate at St. Giles without Lincoln. There is a tradition that the Comte de Perche, the commander of the Dauphin's army in the battle of Lincoln Fair (so called from the spoil taken by the victors from the excommunicated city), was slain near the Minster, and that he was buried in this Hospital of St. Giles. Other accounts state that he and his forces were driven down hill, where he was killed, and that he was buried in the Hospital of the Holy Innocents, which has just been mentioned. This hospital, like so many others in England, was dedicated to St. Giles, who, having been lame himself, was revered as the special patron of cripples, and who in the seventh century founded the Abbey of St. Giles near Nismes. Many years ago a stone effigy, believed to be the principal image of St. Giles which would stand in the chapel, was found in the hospital precincts, and was taken to the Minster for preservation. It is now in the northern chapel of the north-east transept. The saint is vested in the alb with its girdle, the stole crossed in front of the breast and its ends hanging down each side; about the neck appears the amice with a rich apparel or parure, and at the back is worn a cope.

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There were three more hospitals: one whose very name is lost, and one, St. Mary's, dedicated either to

Lincoln the Virgin Mary or to St. Mary Magdalene. It was governed by a Prior, as we learn from a quotation in Tanner of a gift of land in Stapleford from the Rector of Norton to the Prior of St. Mary's Hospital. Its situation is unknown. The third, that of the Holy Sepulchre, may be more conveniently left to be mentioned after one of the most important of the Lincoln foundations has been considered. This was the Priory of St. Katherine, which was situated on the south of that part of the Sincil Dyke which runs from the Witham to the Great Bargate, and on the west side of the high road formed by the junction of those from Sleaford and Newark. Its precincts seem to have extended southwards to Swine Green (where the first of the series of Queen Eleanor's Crosses stood) and westwards to the river Witham, which separated it from Boultham. It belonged to the Order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham, of which and of whom a short account may not be out of place. He was born at Sempringham, in Lincolnshire, about the year 1083, his order was confirmed in 1148, he died in 1189, and was buried in the Abbey Church of Sempringham, and sixteen years afterwards was canonised by Pope Innocent III. The Gilbertine was the only monastic order which was English in origin, and it never spread beyond the bounds of England. There were in all twenty-six houses, some for men only, some for men and women, and at the dissolution by Henry VIII. their total value was £2421, 13s. 9d—not at all a large amount when compared with other foundations. The Gilbertine differed also from all other orders in permitting men and women to live under the same roof, with precautions such as are described by Walter de Map: 'Master Gilbert de Simplingham who yet survives, though blind from age, for he is over 100, instituted a new religious order, which first obtained

confirmation by Pope Eugenius, regular canons namely and nuns, with a wall interposed so that the latter should not see the males nor be seen by them. They have no access to one another, save in the necessity of giving extreme unction. This is done through a window very carefully prepared with many present.' The rules prescribe four canons and one lay brother. Also in their churches there was a wall in the middle running east and west, so that while both males and females could see the altar, they could not see one another. The typical Gilbertine monastery was a kind of quadruple affair, consisting of canons who followed the rule of St. Augustine, and who wore a black cassock with a white cloak over it, and a hood lined with lambskin; lay brothers; nuns who obeyed the Cistercian rule of St. Benedict, and lay sisters. Canons, as will be seen presently, alone are mentioned in the Charter of St. Katherine's Priory, but in Dods-worth's Collection they are sometimes termed 'Prior et Canonici,' sometimes 'Laici fratres,' and the extracts from Mr. Gibbons's *Early Lincoln Wills* prove that at some later period lay sisters were certainly a part of the Priory's inhabitants, as well as widows, orphans, and pupils, to whom several bequests are left. The Priory was dedicated (although by the rules all dedications in this order should be to St. Mary or St. Andrew) to St. Katherine, the Alexandrian princess whose wheel of torture has become a name of delight to every schoolboy, and who was revered as the special patroness of secular learning enlisted in the Church's cause. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the Minster Treasury on June 6, 1540, was a 'finger of St. Katherine in a long purse'; that in 1440 Sir Thomas Cumberworth gave to the chapel of the Holy Trinity in Somerby some of 'St. Katherine's oyle in a glass,' and that in the south wing of

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Lincoln Deloraine Court (No. 4 James Street) is a stone bas-relief of the Martyrdom of St. Katherine, which once possibly belonged to the Priory. It has evidently been the reredos or 'tabula' of an altar, divided into three parts, and is of fifteenth-century date. In the left-hand compartment, St. Katherine is being tortured by being placed between four wheels armed with knives, two angels being busily engaged in breaking up the two upper wheels. In the middle division, under a cusped and pointed arcading, is our Saviour on the Cross, with St. Mary and St. John on either side. The right-hand compartment represents St. Katherine's beheading by sword. The Priory was founded soon after the confirmation of the order, in 1148, by Robert de Chesney (de Cheineto or Querceto, *i.e.* of the Oak Copse), fourth Bishop of Lincoln, and the second Robert (hence often quoted as the second Bishop, as will be seen directly). The charter of King Henry II. may here be added, which confirmed the foundation of the house and its possession of various lands and churches. 'Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, to the Archbishop, Greeting. Know thou, that I at the request of Robert, second Bishop of Lincoln, and of the Chapter of Lincoln, have granted and by this present Charter have confirmed to the Church of Canons of the order of Sempringham, which the aforesaid Robert of Lincoln with the consent of his Chapter has founded hard by the City of Lincoln and to the Canons serving God there, the prebendal Stall of Canewick with all that belongs to it, and five bovates of land in Wigglesey, with all its belongings. And the Churches of Newerc, and of Norton, and Martune, and of Newetune, with all that belongs thereto, and two dwelling-houses in the burgh of Newerc and the houses with the land on the

North-East of the Mother Church of Newerc. And four bovates of land in the fields of Newerc with the dwelling-houses. And twenty acres in the heath, and a dwelling-house which the Church of Newerc itself first possessed, with two bovates of land in the fields of that burgh. And the Chapel of the Apostles Philip and James, founded in the Castle of that town, and given anciently to the Mother Church, with a tenth penny of the whole toll of the burgh of Newerc excepting the fairs. And three bovates of land in Baldertune with the dwelling-houses. And four shillings worth of land which Malger held in Newerc. I have granted also unto them the Church of Bracebrigge with one bovat of land and the dwelling-house, with all that pertaineth thereto in Bracebridge. Also to the care and custody of the aforesaid Canons I have granted the Hospital of St. Sepulchre at Lincoln and all the possessions of brethren of it, and have confirmed it by this Charter. Wherefore I will, etc. All these have I granted to the aforesaid Church for the soul of King Henry, my grandfather, and for the soul of Maud Empress, my Mother, and for my salvation and that of Eleanor, my Queen, and of my heirs: and for the stablishing of my kingdom. To Roger, Archbishop of York: Hugh, Bishop of Durham: Hilary, Bishop of Chichester: Reginald, Count of Cornwall, Roger De Malbrai: Reginald de Curtenei; at Westminster.' This must be dated somewhere between the years 1154 and 1169, as Henry II. became King of England, Roger de Bishopsbridge was consecrated to York, and Hugh Pudsey to Durham in the former year, while Hilary of Chichester died in the latter one. A few details of more or less historical interest may now be given. As the Priory was situated just on the outskirts of the city, it became a favourite halting-place for kings or persons

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Lincoln of consideration. And this custom lasted into quite recent years, for the Judges of Assize always stopped here for refreshment on their way to Lincoln. Also by the statutes the Bishop-Elect of Lincoln has to sleep at St. Katherine's Priory the night before his installation and enthronement, and on the day following to walk bare-footed to the cathedral, the streets being spread with cloth which was afterwards given to the poor. There has been no Priory-house for many generations, and this part of the ceremony has probably not taken place for some hundreds of years.

In the tenth year of King John (1209) we find an agreement made between the Prior of Thurgarton and Richard, Prior of St. Katherine's, Lincoln, as to presentation to Hawksworth. In 1216 the seal of William, Prior, is attached to a charter. In 1220 another charter in Latin was made, of which a fragment is in the British Museum. In 1285 we find a royal grant was made to the Priory of St. Katherine at Lincoln to erect a windmill near the Priory. In 1290 the body of Queen Eleanor, who had died at Harby just over the Nottinghamshire border and who had been in part interred in the Minster, rested in the Priory for a night, to be remembered by the beautiful cross—the first of the series which ended at Charing—which stood hard by the Priory on Swine Green. In 1392 the parish church of Mere near Lincoln was appropriated to the Priory.

From *Early Lincoln Wills* (Gibbons) besides several other references, chiefly to bequests to the Priory, come the following: In 1386 Geoffrey de Saint Quintyn, Knight. To be buried in St. Katherine's Abbey Church near Lincoln, before the Altar of Our Lady. (Proved at St. Katherine's Convent without Lincoln.) Again, in 1391, John de

Sutton, sen., citizen of Lincoln, to be buried in the Priory Church of Katherine without Lincoln; he also makes the Prior a trustee for him. In 1392 William Wayte leaves to the *Sisters* of St. Katherine's without Lincoln, iijs. iiijd. So we see by this time at least there was a certain completion of the Gilbertine scheme. In 1397 is a bequest to the sick and diseased at St. Katherine's without Lincoln; in 1404 Henry Codyngton, parson of Batelesford, leaves xxs. to the Brothers and Sisters 'de Bedarno' belonging to the Priory of St. Katrine without Lincoln. Several other bequests are recorded to the poor, the poor widows and orphans, the poor and orphans, the poor 'Vocat Bede men' at this Priory.

In 1459, John de Leek, Rector of Houghton, leaves 'xls. to Isabella Chawelton, sister of St. Katrine's Lincoln to pray for the soul of her sister Grace and my soul.'

In 1435 the Prior is stated to have been Richard Misyn (also called Prior of the Carmelites, Lincoln) who translated two of Richard Rolle's books (the *Incendium amoris* and the *De emendatione vite*), the hermit of Hampole near Doncaster. Misyn seems afterwards to have been Bishop of Dromore (1457) and Suffragan Bishop of York.

In 1454 an Indulgence was granted by the Bishop of Ely for the Hospital of St. Katherine's. In 1489 the chancel of the splendid church of St. Mary Magdalene's, Newark, was rebuilt at the cost of the Prior of St. Katherine's. A charter now in the British Museum, with seal inscribed 'PRIOR ET CONVENT SCE . . . NE LINCOLN AD CAUS . . .' is dated the 4th February in the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. (1529) between John, Prior of the house of St. Kateryn, and Robert Huse, Esquire. The last Prior was William Griffith, who, with fifteen monks, joined in the sur-



render of his house to the king. It was valued in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII. at £270, 1s. 3d. in the gross income, and at £202, 5s. 0½d. in the net. The site was granted four years afterwards to Henry's brother-in-law (to whom so much of the same kind of property in this county also fell) Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. The seal, *ad causas*, of this Priory represented St. Katherine with her wheel: an impression of it is in the Tower of London, the legend imperfect.

In the time of King James I. the Priory had passed into the possession of the well-known Lincoln family of Grantham (in connection with Monks' Abbey the name will appear again) who had in the fifteenth century a house, 'The Cardinal's Cap,' at the top of the High Street and corner of Grantham Street, and whose monuments were in the tower of St. Martin's till a few years ago. In 1617, as mentioned above, King James spent two nights here, and staying with the family at the same time, as a schoolboy, was the afterwards stern republican and regicide, Hutchinson.

The mansion itself was called St. Katherine's Hall, and notes written at the close of the eighteenth century refer to it as follows: 'A beautiful place, once standing on the left on entering Lincoln and belonging to the Manby family, but pulled down a few years ago.' And again: 'St. Katherine's, near Lincoln, 1763, afterwards was neglected. Of this Priory, justly admired for its elegance, nothing now remains but some barns, built from the materials.'

One of the brothers Buck has left a sketch (about 1730) of a picturesque gable fragment with windows then remaining. The foundations of the church were dug up in 1734, and many gravestones broken in pieces. In a stone coffin which was opened was found a headless skeleton. Within the last twenty-

five years, while building has been going on in the area of the Priory, foundations have been discovered, and several architectural fragments, capitals, pillars, arches, and a finely carved boss, which have been made into an archway in Drury Lane. Early in October 1890 some more relics of the Priory came to light: a stone coffin laid due east and west, about 4 feet beneath the surface; an inscribed slab of the fifteenth century, and some fine mouldings. In November of that year a Papal Bulla was discovered, a flat leaden seal,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter, with on one side the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul with a 'crux ansata' between them. On the other side is the name of the Pope Innoce(n)tius vi. He occupied the Papal throne for ten years, from 1352 to 1362.

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The Hospital of the Holy Sepulchre has been mentioned in King Henry's charter. It was situated near St. Katherine's Priory, and was also of the Order of Sempringham but quite distinct from the Priory, to whose care it was committed by Bishop Robert de Chesney, who very probably founded it also. In 1198 there is a record of a convention between the brethren of this hospital and the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln about a mill in Walton near Grantham. It was under the governance of a Prior.

THE GREY FRIARY.—The Franciscan Friars owed their origin to St. Francis of Assisi, by whom their rule was drawn up in A.D. 1209. They were called Grey Friars on account of their habit of grey—grey knotted cord waistbelt, grey cowl and cloak. They are said to have come into England in 1224, and to have had their first house at Canterbury and their second at London.

In or before the year 1230, according to Tanner, the Grey Friars or Friars Minors (the latter epithet

Lincoln chosen to show their humility) came to Lincoln and had a place given them to dwell in by William de Beningworth, near which the citizens of Lincoln gave them a piece of ground belonging to their Guildhall; and thereon the church and house of these Franciscans were built, the site of which was granted, 36th Henry VIII. (1536), to John Pope. According to Leland, Reginaldus Molendinarius (or Miller), a merchant of Lincoln, was said to be the founder, and Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, and Nunny, his almoner, to be great benefactors. According to Speed, John Stainwike was founder; according to Stevens, John Pickering of Stampwick.

The land belonging to the Grey Friars was situated in the south-east corner of the Roman city, and was bounded on the north by the present Silver Street, on the west by Free School Lane, on the south by the line of the Roman wall from old St. Swithin's graveyard to Broadgate, and on the east by the eastern Roman wall running north and south on the west side of Broadgate.

From the Close Rolls of Henry III. the following interesting extracts are taken:

On August 10, 1265, was a gift of ten oaks in Syrewood Forest (Shirewood) for the Friars Minors.

1286, April 27. An Indulgence was granted by Bishop Kellawe of Durham for the soul of that noble lady, dame Alice de Ros, whose body is interred in the church of the Friars Minors at Lincoln.—*Fast. Ebor.*, i. p. 335.

Some mention of these orders is found in Mr. Gibbons's volume of *Early English Wills*. Thus Archbishop Walter Jorce, in 1320, wishes to be buried in the church of the Friars Preachers at Lincoln, and leaves the residue of his estate to that convent. Adam de Lymbergh, rector of Algarkirk, leaves in

1339 six shillings and eightpence to each order of Religious Friars in the city of Lincoln. Hospitals, Monastic Institutions, and other Religious Houses

Henry Asty, knight, Justice of the Common Bench, in 1383 leaves twenty shillings to each order of Mendicant Friars at Boreston (Boston), Lincoln, and Grantham.

Richard de Evyngeham, Rector of Iwardby (Ewerby), in 1396 leaves bequests also to the Mendicant Friars of Lincoln, St. Botolph (Boston), and Grantham.

John de Kele, Canon of Lincoln, in 1416 leaves bequests to the Mendicant Friars of Lincoln, as does also Robert Ratheby, merchant of Lincoln, in 1418, to each order of Friars at Lincoln; and William de Walton, Canon of York, Beverley, and Lincoln, in 1416 leaves certain monies to the Mendicant Friars of York, Beverley, Hull, Lincoln, St. Botolph and Grymesby (Grimsby).

One act of great practical usefulness can be ascribed to the Grey Friars: the supply of fresh water to the city from a spring in the hill on the east side (just above and a little beyond Monks' Abbey), and we find in the City Records for April 8, 1535, that a licence was given to the Warden of the Grey Friars to lay his conduit in the common ground of the city where he shall think most convenient, and to have the licence under the Common Seal given him of charity. From a letter by Richard Devereux on the Dissolution of the Monasteries comes the following passage: 'In Lyncolne in y<sup>e</sup> Grey Freyrs y<sup>s</sup> a godely condyte for y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> meyar and y<sup>e</sup> aldermen wer with me to make sute to have y<sup>t</sup> condy the in to y<sup>e</sup> cete' (Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. iv., fol. 212 b).

Shortly before September 12, 1534, we hear of the Warden of the Grey Friars being allowed to have sufficient stone from two churches, St. Austin's and Holy



Lincoln Trinity by the Greestone Stairs ('at the Grece foot'), which were ruined and were falling down, for reparation of his house and church, freely and of charity. July 1, 1535, the Warden of the Grey Friars was allowed the timber roof of 'S'. Bathe' (St. Peter ad fontem?) Church to the upholding and maintaining his house, which shall be given freely for charity. The Grey Friars property belonged in Elizabeth's reign to Robert Monson, or Mounson, a member of the well-known Lincolnshire family which has been settled at North and South Carlton and Burton for centuries, and is now represented by Lord Monson of Burton Hall. Robert Monson was eminent as a lawyer, and on July 12, 1570, was appointed Recorder of the city of Lincoln in succession to Anthony Thorold. He was, later, a Judge of Common Pleas, and he died on the 23rd September 1583. His name appears frequently as a witness to the records of English Church furniture in Lincolnshire which have been edited by our veteran antiquary, Mr. Edward Peacock.

On May 8, 1568, the City Records have the following entry: 'Forasmuch as Robert Mounson, Esq., is pleased to make a Free School of his own charges in the late Grey Friars, it is ordered that he shall have all the glass remaining in the free school towards the glazing of the windows in the new school.' This sounds as though the new school were to be entirely a free gift. Probably the fitting up of the rooms for the purpose of a school *was* a gift, but from the later record in the custody of the city we learn that it was to be much more of the nature of a bargain; as on the 10th December 1574 there is an indenture of agreement between Robert Mounson, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, and the Mayor and Commonalty of Lincoln, whereby the former in consideration of the grant to him of the parsonage of Hanslope

Bucks. for divers years, and in order that the latter may ever hereafter the more quietly have and enjoy a conduit or water-course lately in question (evidently the one mentioned above), and also for the desire that the said Robert Mounson hath towards the maintenance of a free grammar-school in perpetuity, if the said Mayor and Commonalty shall so think it good, as they do well and charitably intend it hereafter if they may—covenants to convey feoffees the site and precinct of the Grey Friars in Lincoln with all the houses, etc., to the same belonging, reserving the use to himself for life or for twenty years.

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There are many entries referring to the former City School among the records.

For instance: In February, 1441, an agreement was made between the Chapter and the city, upon a complaint made by Master John Brasbryge, master of the grammar-schools of the city, against the schools for the choristers and for others the kindred of members of the cathedral body: allowing that the latter may be freely taught grammar at any days and hours, but that yearly at Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter, they shall go down once to the general grammar-schools of the city and there at the accustomed hour be 'sub regimine et sub doctrina proprii magistri.' On October 26, 1517, a meeting was to be called to know what each man would give according to their valuation for the purchasing of a schoolhouse for the master of the grammar-school. A sadder entry occurs on November 26, 1520, when William Dyghton, schoolmaster, is bound over to keep the peace, and on the 10th December, with one John Welcome, scrivener, gives bail for a 'scoler' to keep the peace.

On September 3, 1560, the usher of the free school was to have £10 for one year out of certain

Lincoln rates (of those parsonages) so that the said school be kept in the old schoolhouse within the city, and that the masters of the Close make it an able schoolhouse and keep it in repair. But, alas, in two years' time, on the 6th August 1562, the usher of the free school was to be paid his half-year's stipend at Michaelmas, and then to have warning not to trust to any more stipend until such time as the masters of the Close and the mayor and his brethren have agreed touching the reparations of the schoolhouse and the continuance of the school there. On the 13th of November 1563 it was resolved that if the masters of the Close of Lincoln will repair and maintain the old schoolhouse and provide a good schoolmaster and an usher, then the usher shall have £5 yearly towards his wages. On the 13th May 1564, the entry says there shall be provided a schoolmaster to keep a free school within the city, and to have yearly, out of the parsonages appertaining to the city, £13, 6s. 8d. On June 12, 1567, John Drope, B.A. (the first mention of academical degrees), was appointed usher of the free school.

On September 14, 1578, John Hyrd, son of Anthony Hyrd, to be usher of the school at Christmas, with £4 yearly and 10s. for a frieze gown, and Mayson, now usher, then to depart. Some books, possibly belonging to this John Hyrd, still exist in the library of the Free Grammar School, as Mr. W. D. Macray conjectured. In 1579 (February 26) William Knowles was appointed usher in the free school, because John Hyrd could not attend at the time appointed. But in 1580, on May 7, John Hyrd, Clerk, now vicar of St. Mary's, is reappointed usher of the free school. He seems to have been M.A., M.D. Cantab., Prebendary of Lincoln, and the author of *Historia Anglicana* in Latin verse.

We have seen from some of the above extracts that

not only was there a grammar-school or schools for the city under the control of the Mayor and Common Council, but that the Dean and Chapter had one for the choristers of the cathedral.

In the '*Liber Niger*' of the *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes*, on January 19, 1321-22, there is mention made of 'Magister scholarum grammaticalium' who was to get 5s., as well as of the 'Magister scholarum cantus' who was to receive only twelvenpence.

The site of this school is supposed to have been the College House, now pulled down, which stood to the west of the Priory gate.

These two schools (that of the Dean and Chapter, and that of the City Council) were now to be joined together—a conjunction under dual ownership and authority which has practically endured to the present day, and did endure till within twenty years ago in the actual building which Mr. Justice Monson handed over to the city.

On August 27, 1580, the Dean and Chapter were to be asked whether they be content to join the two schools together. Apparently the answer was favourable, as on December 22 articles were to be drawn up for the union of the two schools by learned counsel of both parties. On January 18, 1584, the indentures of agreement about the school were to be sealed; in February some necessary sanitary measures to be taken at the Friars for the scholars, and on October 5, 1588, the bishop was to be applied to to confirm the union of the schools. By 1583, on the death of Mr. Justice Monson, the city came into complete possession of all the Grey Friars property.

But a small portion is left now of the once probably extensive buildings of the Grey Friars. The remains, which consist of a large vaulted chamber running east and west on the ground floor, supporting two rooms

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over it, are situated immediately to the north of St. Swithin's new church in Sheep Square, Broadgate. The upper room, till recently divided into two by a partition, is approached by an outside, rather picturesque, though modern staircase. It is about 120 feet long, and as far as the eastern portion is concerned, 20 feet 4 inches high. On the north side, 4 feet from the east wall, is a plain chamfered doorway, with a pointed arch, now blocked up, and more to the westward a fireplace and chimney supported boldly on the outside by four large corbels, showing that it was a later insertion. On the south side of the room, 3 feet 6 inches from the east wall, is an elegant double-bowled piscina showing that this

was evidently the chapel of the Friary. The east window has three lights, the head of which is composed of arches arising from the mullions intersecting each other and with those from the jambs, as in a window of St. Mary-le-Wigford, dated about 1260. Below this window and to the north side of it is a blocked-up lancet window. There is an oval 'vesica piscis' window above this, and the gable-end is surmounted by a beautiful pierced cross. The other existing windows are imitation Tudor of debased type, and were inserted in the last century. Originally, no doubt, this room was lighted by single lancet windows only, and three of these now blocked up (one partly by the fireplace already mentioned) can be seen on the north side, and three also blocked (one cut into by the third modern window from the east) on the south side. On this latter side it will be noted that the cills are at a level of about 10 feet from the ground, so as to allow for the cloister which was on that side of the building; on the north side the cills come down to within about 4 feet 6 inches of the ground. These windows show clearly that the vaulted ground-floor room was an after addition to the structure, as the lancets and cills extend below the vaulting; also the responds of the vaulting piers, or those piers which abut against the outer walls, are built on the faces of the walls and are not bonded into them, and the archways (of which two can still be seen on the north wall at the west end) extend upwards above the vaulting, so that they have never been open to their full height since the vaulting was constructed; the pillar also is considerably eastward of that carrying the ribs and vaulting in the undercroft or under room. The original roof still exists over the larger of the two upper rooms, and consists of oak-trussed rafters with semicircular trusses to

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Lincoln each pair, but it has been concealed by the modern deal-boardings nailed on beneath them. The original main rafters also exist over the western room, but the semicircular trusses have been removed, probably to put in a flat ceiling. The undercroft, or ground floor, is divided into two parts by a row of eight octagonal pillars which support the vaulting (which has good carved bosses at the intersection of the shafts) and the floor of the upper rooms. Unfortunately the bases of the pillars have been hidden in the ground. The windows are large pointed ones, which have probably had a centre mullion dividing at the head into two, to form subarcuations. A window of this exact character was figured by Mr. Padley as existing in 1851, on the south side and on the first floor, just above the second buttress from the west (15 feet or so from the west end of the building).

The schools having been joined together continued to be held in the upper rooms of the Grey Friars till within twenty years ago (1884), when the schools were divided into two: the Lincoln Grammar School, which was removed into the new buildings on Lindum Terrace, close to the headmaster's house, and the Middle School, which continued to use the Grey Friars. Within the last three years the schools have been united into the Grammar School, and the Corporation have wisely determined to utilise the Grey Friars to remedy the great blot on Lincoln, that of the lack of any museum.

After the union in 1583, the Corporation Records are not very important or interesting as respects the schools. Gowns costing 40s. are allowed to the schoolmaster and usher (1602-1606).<sup>1</sup> On November 7,

<sup>1</sup> William Temple, master of the Free School, was educated at King's College, Cambridge, and was secretary to Sir Philip Sidney, and Robert, Earl of Essex. He was afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and died in 1626.

1612, it was agreed that there should be a house of correction made, according to the statute, of the house called the Friars under the Free School, and that malt-querns and such other provision as shall be fit to set the poor on work shall be provided.

On July 15, 1615, the house under the Free School was let for 11s. yearly rent to certain citizens who combine to buy wool and set the poor on work there. These extracts, of course, refer to the crypt or undercroft; and some years before, in Elizabeth's reign, there was established a 'Jersey' school for teaching knitting and spinning Jersey wool, by the Mayor and Corporation. On November 16, 1624, it was ordered that from Easter every citizen and other inhabitant of ability shall wear at least one suit of apparel and one pair of stockings of such cloth or stuff as shall be made in the city. This school was endowed by a gift of land of the value of £700 by Henry Stone, of Skellingthorpe, in 1693. The Corporation appointed teachers from time to time until about the year 1830, when the great improvement in machinery caused yarn-spinning by hand to be given up as unprofitable.

This crypt afterwards, from 1833 to 1862, was the home of the Mechanics' Institute.

After this it became part of the school buildings, though unfortunately much darkened by being directly overshadowed by the new church of St. Swithin's, which was erected only a few feet distant from its windows. If ever 'ancient lights' deserved respect, surely this school should have been able to plead successfully against this blocking up of light from youthful scholars, and the open space—the old Sheep Square—would be valuable now.

In 1659 the Free Schoolhouse of the city was repaired.

In 1662, September 20, the entry runs as follows :

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‘Whereas we are informed from the Dean and Chapter that they having their library called Great St. Mary’s formerly in the unhappy war plundered, some books of which library is conceived by them to be in our custody, it is therefore agreed that they shall have a view of what books we have in the school library, and such of them as they shall sufficiently make appear did belong to their library to be forthwith restored unto them.’

The following answer of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln Cathedral to Visitation Articles from the Bishop of Lincoln in 1718 and 1724 is interesting as giving some evidence on the side of the other partners in the joint undertaking:

‘N<sup>o</sup>. 10. Ye Head Master of y<sup>e</sup> Free school is always nominated by y<sup>e</sup> Dean and Chapter and hath a stipend from them of twenty pound a year which is duly paid by their General Receiver, besides y<sup>e</sup> said Master has a farther stipend of 20 nobles (£6, 13s. 4d.) a year paid by y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and aldermen of y<sup>e</sup> City. There is also an Usher of y<sup>e</sup> said school who is nominated by the Corporation of y<sup>e</sup> s<sup>d</sup> City and has a stipend paid by them of 20 pounds per annum. And we believe y<sup>e</sup> said Master and Usher are diligent in y<sup>e</sup> performance of their duty.’

In 1718, December 9, Mr. Booth, usher of the Grammar School, was desired to print his sermon preached at St. Mary’s Church upon account of the Anabaptists, and £10 to be paid him for defraying the charge. In the succeeding February five guineas were voted to be given to Mr. Booth for printing his book, being a replication to the Anabaptists’ answer to his sermon. The author, Peniston Booth, was afterwards Dean of Windsor and Chancellor of London in 1733. In 1724 the master’s stipend (of which £20 was allowed by the Dean and Chapter) was

increased from the city side from twenty nobles to twenty pounds, with £10 for a house. This to be given to Mr. John Goodall, the Dean and Chapter having been unable to find a person duly qualified as having been educated at Westminster or Eton and of the degree of M.A. On October 28, 1766, twenty guineas were granted to the Rev. Mr. Hewthwaite, master of the Grammar School, for globes and maps, he having undertaken to teach the scholars geography gratis.

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Since then much water has flowed under the High Bridge. The Lincoln Grammar School will soon be transferred to new buildings on the Wragby Road, near St. Giles' Hospital. We may give it the best possible wishes that, refitted and remanned, the good ship may venture forth again on the work which she has been doing for the past five hundred years, having educated many distinguished scholars.

**MONKS' ABBEY.**—Despite its popular, grandiloquent, and extravagant name, this was a small cell belonging to the great and influential Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's at York. The monks followed the rule of St. Benedict (480-543), and wore a tunic and scapula with cowl and hood, which for several centuries have been of black colour; hence their name of the Black Monks. Colswegen in Domesday is stated to have without the city (of Lincoln) 'thirty-six houses and two churches to which nothing belongs, which he built on the waste which the King gave him and which was never before built upon.' In all probability these churches were St. Peter ad fontem and St. Rumbold's, both in Butterwick to the east of Broadgate; and we find later on that Picot, son of Colsuanus, gave four acres in the fields, with 'le Hevelande' and the church of St. Peter in Lincoln, to St. Mary's

Lincoln Abbey, York. Other gifts of land from owners of land in and around Lincoln are also chronicled in the large confirmation of King Henry II., and on some part of the land thus given to St. Mary's Abbey this little cell of St. Mary Magdalene for two or three monks was built in Early English times. Santoft, in the isle of Axholme, had also been given to St. Mary's Abbey; in 1291 its temporalities in the Deanery of Corringham were valued at 15s. 10d., and it was afterwards assigned to St. Mary Magdalene's cell, Lincoln. The ruins are situated about three-quarters of a mile east of the Stonebow, and about three hundred yards north of the Witham. They consist of the remains of the church or chapel eastwards, and part of one wall of the domestic buildings westwards, in a line with the south wall of the church. Part of the north wall, south wall, and all the east wall of the chancel are left, probably of Early English date. No trace of altar, piscina, or credence table or aumbry are visible. The church was 16 feet wide. The north wall is about 42 feet in length, and has one Early Perpendicular window of two lights in it, the mullion gone, but some of the tracery left in the head. The east window is also of Early Perpendicular date, of three lights with tracery and foliated head. There are two windows (of similar character to those in the north wall) in the south wall, and a third between them, square-headed, much narrower, and with the cill much lower, which possibly is an altered lancet window. A pillar at the western end of the south wall shows where a transept ran south; this was about 12 feet wide, and its east wall can be traced. The pillar cap has a small dog-tooth moulding round it, exactly similar to those in St. Mary-le-Wigford's. The church was about 60 feet in length, as there are evidences of

the western wall. An internal cornice or wall-plate of stone may be noticed in various places on the top of the walls. A string-course runs round the church on the outside; on the north this is about 3 feet from the ground; it breaks upwards twice on the east wall, and is considerably higher on the south wall. Forty-seven feet from the pier in the south wall is the wall of the domestic buildings, with a square-headed Tudor window of five lights, which has been transomed and mullioned, lighting an apartment about 18 feet long by 16 feet broad. Beyond this window, westwards, is an obtuse-headed doorway. On the north and east are traces of the fish- or mill-pond of the monks, and still some remains can be seen of the stone building which contained the water-wheel for grinding corn, immediately south-east of the church. Across the railway is an iron spring which has had some celebrity for curative properties in its day, which seems long past. In the seventh year of King Henry iv. was an '*Inquisitione de quadam placea in suburb. Lincoln. concess. Abbati S. Mariae Ebor. ad inveniendum duos monachos ibidem continue celebraturos.*' Among the City Records is one dated 10th September 1455, an indenture of an agreement between the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary at York, and the Mayor and Citizens of Lincoln, respecting land claimed of the former as belonging to this cell of St. Mary Magdalene. Leland calls it not St. Mary Magdalene but St. Beges, probably confusing it with St. Bees in Cumberland, which also was a cell of St. Mary's Abbey at York. On the dissolution of this abbey by force of the statute 31 Henry viii., the cell came to the Crown as part of it, and by letters-patent six years later was granted to John Broxholme and John Bellows, Esquires, when 'the late cell of Mary Magdalene next the Citie of Lincoln, w<sup>th</sup> certain

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Lincoln lands there, parcell of St. Marie's next the walles of Yorke, was worth by yere £xj xviijs.' In the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII. the cell and all its possessions were valued at £26, 1s. 3d.

In June, 1536, it was agreed by the Lincoln Corporation 'that if Vincent Grantham (one of the city burgesses in Parliament) can by any means get the lands and tenements of the Black Monks to the use of the common chamber, to be enacted at the next Parliament, then he shall have the demesne lands of the cell for 30 years, paying yearly £5.' In the thirty-seventh year of Henry VIII., Vincent Grantham is described as holding lands of the cell at Osgodby and Osilby. Robert Grantham, who died in 1616, is described on his monument in Dunholme Church as 'Of the Black Mōnckes near the Citie of Lincolne.'

In late years this property has belonged to the Hon. W. F. Massey - Mainwaring, M.P., who has with great generosity presented it to the city of Lincoln, to be maintained as a recreation ground and the ruins carefully preserved.

**BLACK OR PREACHING FRIARS.**—The Black or Preaching Friars of Lincoln were in existence here in the east part of the city as early as the twelfth year of Edward I. The site was granted after the Dissolution, 37th Henry VIII., to John Bellows and John Broxholme.

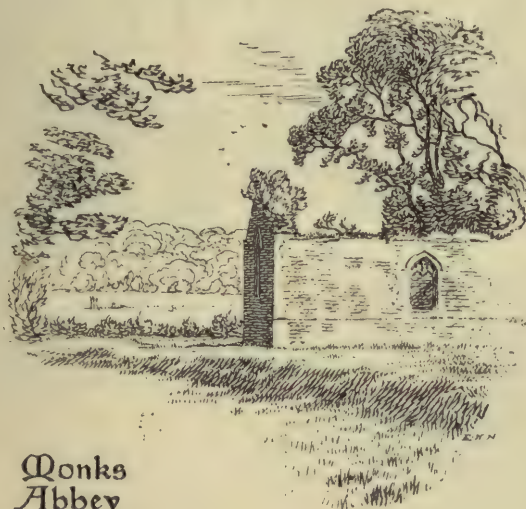
The Dominicans were named from their founder, St. Dominic, a Spaniard of Old Castile, born about 1071. They were called Preaching Friars from their offices to preach and convert heretics, Black Friars from their garments (a white cassock with a white hood, and when out of doors a black cloak with a black hood over them). Their rule was chiefly that of St. Augustine; they were approved in 1215-16,

came into England 1221, and had first house at Oxford.

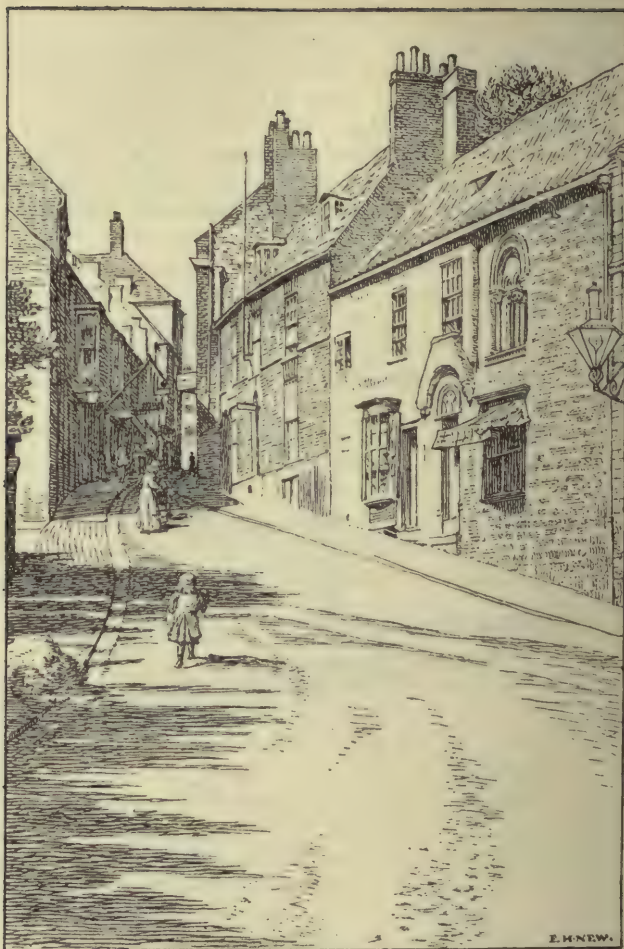
The White Friars, or Carmelites, had their house on the west side of the High Street, on the site of the present Midland Station. The conduit at St. Mary-le-Wigford's is built up of fragments of this friary.

The Augustinians had their house in Newport, just outside the Roman Ditch, on the west side of Ermine Street.

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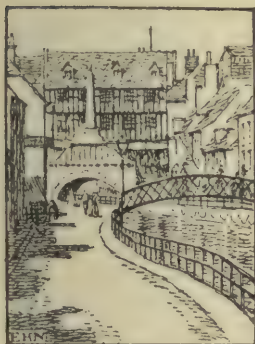
Monks  
Abbey



*Aaron the Jew's House*◊◊◊*Steep Hill*◊◊◊

## CHAPTER XI

THE CASTLE, BAIL, CITY WALLS, HIGH BRIDGE,  
AND OLD HOUSES IN THE CITY



HIGH BRIDGE

THE Castle of Lincoln occupies an area of some eight acres, the greater part of the south-western quarter of the original Roman city, by whose walls on the south and west its limits were probably determined. It is defended by a broad and deep dry ditch (as it is situated really on the limestone rock) and by a massive bank of earth, some 50 to 80 yards broad, and from 20 to 30 feet high, internally of easy slope, externally steep. This commences at the south-west corner, and runs due north for 163 yards, turning a little eastwards before it reaches the angle, as though to avoid the Roman West Gate, which was buried in this mound, as mentioned before, a few yards north of the sally-port. The northern bank runs rather south-eastwards for 180 yards, to join the eastern one, which continues the circuit, proceeding almost due south, for about 100 yards to the entrance gate on Castle



Lincoln Hill. On the south and south-east sides the castle was defended by two isolated mounds, each with its own ditch, situated close to the steep sloping brow of the cliff, which in itself formed a great protection. That at the south-east angle (the Observatory mound) being conical in shape, about 40 feet high, and of 50 feet diameter at the top. Nearer the south-west corner is a larger circular mound (the Keep mound) of about the same height, but with a diameter of 100 feet at its summit. As suggested in a former chapter, one or other of these mounds may be British in origin, and if so, most probably the second, the larger one, is, as part of the Roman south wall is projecting from the skirt of the smaller one. The latter fact, the line of the western earth wall, and the burial of the Roman West Gate, seem emphatically to show that all the rest of the earthworks are certainly post-Roman in date. The quotations from Domesday, given in a former reference, of the number of houses destroyed on behalf of the making of the castle, also negatives the idea that much, if any, of these earthen fortifications were due (as has been thought) to the Saxons. They almost certainly date from the time of William the Conqueror, who ordered the castle to be erected in 1068, when on his journey from York to Cambridge. Time and the newness of these artificial mounds of earth would not permit of their being surmounted (and the two isolated mounds joined) by anything else but a wooden palisade or stockading, as the king did at York. Later on, in the reign of Henry 1. or Stephen, most probably the circuit of walls was erected. This curtain wall is built upon the central line of the earth bank; it is from 8 to 10 feet thick, and from 30 to 40 feet high, containing especially about the north-west corner a considerable amount of

herring-bone work. It is probably original for quite two-thirds of its height, and has been placed on timber supports, beams being laid in three or four parallel lines on the rubble on which the walls were to be raised, and these lines being crossed at short distances by other beams to hold them in their places. This was no doubt done to support the walls on the artificially made embankments of earth. The wall is continued across the ditches of the two isolated mounds and up to their summits, being raised by steps to the level of the battlements. The west wall, as the only exposed side of the castle (all the other sides being inside the city), has had considerable patching at various times; it will be remembered that it was against this side of the castle that Stephen constructed his entrenchments, which are still in existence. Of about the same date, in all likelihood, is the entrance gate, the sally-port (the western gate), and part of the Observatory Tower.

The Eastern Gate, now the only available entrance to the castle, consists of a plain circular-headed arch, placed in a rectangular bay in the wall, 18 feet wide by 10 feet deep. Probably the bay was closed at the gorge or western end by another arch, which has disappeared. The arch is full-centred, of 14 feet opening without chamfer or rebate or ornament of any description.

The grooves for the portcullis were just behind the arch, where the modern doors are fixed, as can be seen in an illustration in Gough's *Camden's Britannia* (dated 1806), the ancient doors having been about 6 feet westwards. Over the door is a pointed window of Early Decorated date. Later in that period this gateway has been masked by a front composed of a bold equilateral arch springing from two angular

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corbels. Above, the two outer angles are capped by two round turrets, corbelled out of the angles, and between them the curtain projects at a low angle, the salient being over the entrance—altogether producing a distinctly good effect. The turrets are said to have contained staircases from the upper floor to the battlements. Eastwards from each side of the gate, which was flanked by a stone lion on either side (of which a remaining portion of one

is outside Cobb's Hall), were walls crossing the ditch, over which and between them would fall the draw-bridge, and ending in two round towers, of one of which the foundations still exist in the cellars of the house on the south side. The arch between the towers was of Tudor date, if Gough's artist can be relied on. All this portion of the defences was pulled down in 1791, to make a better approach to the castle. Evidently this Barbican is the one alluded to in the following extract from the Close Rolls (v. ii. p. 29) of the ninth year of King Henry III. (1225). The Sheriff of Lincoln was ordered 'to place in repair the gate of the Castle of Lincoln, towards the Church of St. Mary, and the Tower of Luce, to the amount of twenty marks, of which ten were expended in a barbican.' The next quotation records the Barbican's destruction: In 1791 'Sir N. Grose, Knt., and the Grand Jury by virtue of powers given them by the Duchy of Lancaster for the taking down the ancient turrets and bulwarks belonging to the Castle of Lincoln—being in a ruinous condition—do request Sir Jos. Banks would give directions for that purpose—March 5, 1791, C. Chaplin, Foreman.' The interior additions to this gate are entirely modern, with the exception of a beautiful oriel window inserted on the north side of the passage, which was brought from John o' Gaunt's Palace in the lower part of the city by Earl Brownlow, Lord-Lieutenant, and placed here to preserve it. Pugin illustrated this window, which is of great richness of detail, in his *Specimens of Gothic Architecture* (published in 1821), and its date is probably later than the time of John of Gaunt, *i.e.* probably that of his daughter Joan, Countess of Westmorland, who died in 1440, and was buried in the Minster next to her mother, Catherine Swyn-

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Lincoln ford, Duchess of Lancaster. The shields of de Lacy Earls of Lincoln (1232-1310), *or* a lion rampant *purpure*, and of Lancaster, England, *gules* three lions passant guardant *or*, a label of three points *ermine*, will be noticed on the east side of the modern gateway. A fragment, showing admirable drapery, of one of the statues on the first Eleanor Cross (which stood on Swine Green outside Bargate), is kept here.

The West Gate, or sally-port, is also of Norman date like the one just described, but fortunately has had no more recent additions. Behind the outer arch (which is walled up, concealing a rebate for the doors) can be seen the groove for the portcullis, the arch behind it having a chamfered edge and a plain string-course at the level of the spring of the arch. There is also the commencement of an arch across the inner face of the bay, which is now shut in by a wall some 4 feet thick, with a sloping round-headed doorway in it. The upper floor has two small Norman windows in front, and a small door, square-headed, under a round-headed arch of relief, opening originally on the battlements of the Barbican. This was composed of two flanking walls and an outer gate, of which the north wall and part of the south one still remain. The wall rises to the level of the upper floor of the gatehouse, projects about 30 feet, and is 7 feet thick. The masonry is of the same date as the gateway, and contains some herring-bone work. The approach must have been very steep, as the cill of the gate is some feet above the level of the counterscarp. Of the same date also is a considerable portion of the Observatory Tower, which is rectangular, and placed on the summit of the south-eastern mound. The enceinte wall curves inwards where it joins the tower, which is set diagonally, with its south and east sides free. Its position

is of great importance, as it would command the main street coming up the Steep Hill into Bailgate. The Norman part consists of a tower of two floors, the lower one of which has had barrel vaulting, and it contains a good mural staircase. To this has been added, of Decorated date, another rectangular tower, also of two stories, on the north-eastern side, with loops in the lower story and pointed windows above; the entrance door also is pointed, and the battlements are boldly corbelled out. The whole tower has also been refaced in this time. The turret which carries the flag-staff is modern, and was built for an astronomical observatory (replacing an ugly gazebo, according to Buck's view), but it harmonises well with the older work. In the curtain wall at the foot of the Observatory mound, between it and the Keep, is a round-headed arch of relief, and below it, beneath a rude flat lintel of two large stones, is a small door which apparently has been closed up for centuries. This arch is certainly late Norman, and seems to be of the same date as that part of the wall in which it is embedded.

The Keep, which is also Norman in style, though of a distinctly later date, is a very perfect specimen of a shell keep. Its plan is that of an irregular polygon, measuring 64 feet north and south by 74 feet east and west within the walls. Within it has twelve sides of irregular lengths. Without it has fifteen sides, and each angle is capped by a broad flat pilaster, each rising from a common plinth. At about two-thirds of the height there is a set-off, involving both wall and pilaster, and the latter has also a bold roll moulding. The wall is 8 feet thick and 20 feet high to the rampart walk, and has lost its parapet. The Keep stands upon the line of the curtain which abuts upon it at opposite

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Lincoln sides, and divides it so that there are eight facets outside the wall, and seven inside. The main entrance is by a full-centred arch of 7 feet opening, set in a broad projecting buttress or pilaster towards the north-east. The arch of the actual doorway and of its inner recess is segmental. There was no portcullis, and the door had a stout wooden bar. Above the arch is a hood-moulding, with a light Norman ornament, restored from the original one, and having small impostes at the springing. To this door a straight steep flight of stairs leads up, which probably represents, though itself modern, the ancient way of approach. There is a second smaller door, diagonally opposite to the one just described, opening to the south-west; this is quite plain in style with segmental arches, the outer one being boldly splayed, and the opening being 5 feet 6 inches wide. Above this arch may be noticed rectangular oblong openings, now bricked up, placed about 2 to 3 feet apart; these extend along the outer third of the Keep wall and possibly are due to Cromwellian or Royalist preparations for defence, loop-holing this part of the wall for musketry. Below these will be seen the holes for supporting the beams of the upper floor. All the buildings inside the Keep were almost certainly of wood, as no foundations have been found within its circuit. Where the two curtain walls join the Keep at the rampart level in each is a mural chamber, some 6 feet wide by 12 feet long, with the floor about 10 or 12 feet from the ground. These have no doors towards the ramparts of the curtain, and seem to have been entered from the upper part of the Keep. That on the west side was a garde-robe, and has a loop and shoot on the inner—the northern—face. The eastern one has a loop only, and that outwards. Probably this one is

that described as having been groined and vaulted, the vaults springing from columns in the angles. As mentioned in Chapter II. the Keep is probably the Lucy Tower—the Tower of Luce—belonging to Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and deriving its name from his mother: and so it owes its present state to the end of King Stephen's reign. The graves within the Keep are those of prisoners who have been executed.

A deep well, the bottom of which has been enlarged into a cistern, still exists about the middle of the north side of the Castle area.

At the north-east corner of the Castle is a flanking tower of somewhat horse-shoe shape, capping the angle, and probably an insertion. It is called Cobb Hall, the name being supposed to be derived from *cobbing*, i.e. flogging or beating with a strap, or possibly from its round and knobby appearance. It has rather prolonged sides and a square rear, its breadth being 25 feet, and length 40 feet. It contains two stories, both of which are vaulted and groined with pointed arches. The upper room has four narrow loops, deeply recessed in the outward walls, each of which is secured by a broad iron bar, set upright, with cross-bars passing through it; and the little cells formed by the splaying of the jambs are all furnished with great iron rings for the confinement of prisoners. Two small doors opened outwards upon the terraces below the eastern and northern walls of the castle, and in the recesses were found a quantity of stone balls roughly cut, for use in some of the mediæval engines of warfare. Beneath the floor of this room is a smaller dungeon, also lit by three loops, similar to those in the upper chamber. Some carvings on the walls have doubtless wiled away many weary hours spent in this prison by captives;

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on the staircase may be noticed crosses, and in the lower dungeon a rude carving of the hunting of a stag. It is very likely that this tower, with the Decorated work of the Observatory tower and of the Eastern Gateway, was built by John of Gaunt, who was custodian of the Castle and Earl of Lincoln, in right of his first wife Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in whose honour Chaucer wrote *The Boke of a Dutchesse, or The Death of Blanche*. The leads and battlements are new, and are reached by a stone staircase. The rings and bars were for the erection of the gallows, for here in the days of public executions (happily and wisely now no more) the last act of many a sordid tragedy was played out. Before the gallows were erected here they used to be put up

at the junction of three roads at the north-west angle of the Castle (where Union Road, Westgate, and Burton Road now meet), and the name of Hangman's Dyke, applied to that part of the Castle Ditch, lasted for some time after the gallows had been moved.

The present state of the Castle Ditch is indirectly due to the impecuniosity of King Charles I.: for these outlying portions of the Duchy of Lancaster were sold by him in order to raise money. In the middle of the last century they might have been bought by the city (or county), and converted into pleasant walks or boulevards, but the opportunity was missed, and now on the north and east and south sides they are extensively built upon, the ditch levelled up, and elsewhere converted into private gardens past all hope of recall.

The red-brick prison seen to the left on passing through the Eastern Gate was built at the end of the eighteenth century, and is only used now for the Magistrates' Courts for the parts of Lindsey and Kesteven. The Assize Courts opposite the gate are from the designs of Sir Robert Smirke, in early nineteenth-century Gothic, having been erected between the years 1823-1826. The Grand Jury Room contains a number of portraits.

As has been shown in previous pages, the Castle was apparently a very hard and difficult nut to crack, as it was captured but few times out of the many it was besieged, in spite of the long extent of wall so scantily protected by towers so few and far between.

In the general history of the city several names have been given of the custodians of the Castle, which are not necessary to be repeated here. A brief reference, however, to the various earls to whom Lincoln has

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Lincoln given a title may be interesting in this connection. First in the list comes the name of William de Roumare, elder son of Lucy, Countess of Chester, and a descendant of the Anglo-Saxon Algar, Earl of Mercia (who was father of Morcar, Earl of Northumberland). Earl William built, it is stated, Bolingbroke Castle. He was created Earl of Lincoln by King Stephen in 1140, and died and was buried in Revesby sometime before 1168, his grandson and heir being then under age. Contemporaneously with this first earl was Gilbert de Gant, who became earl on his marriage with the Countess Rohesia, another descendant from this same Anglo-Saxon race. He died in 1156 without a male heir.

In 1216 his nephew, Gilbert de Gant, was made Earl of Lincoln by Prince Louis of France, but he never obtained full possession of this dignity.

In 1217 Ranulf de Blondeville, Earl of Chester, was confirmed Earl of Lincoln: he was great-grandson of the Countess Lucy just mentioned, and died in 1232, having shortly before his death transferred the earldom by charter to his sister Hawise de Quency or Quincy.

In that year also John de Lascy (or de Lacy), Constable of Chester, having married Margaret, daughter of the Countess Hawise, was confirmed Earl of Lincoln by King Henry III. He died seven years afterwards. Apparently he was not succeeded by his son Edmund in the earldom, but the Countess Margaret seems to have possessed that dignity for many years after the death of her husband. She was succeeded by her grandson and heir, Henry de Lacy (who was also Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife, Margaret de Longespée, daughter of William de Longespée) in 1272. He lived to the year 1312, when he died at his house in London, which has given

the name to Lincoln's Inn by which it has been known ever since. His only surviving child Alice (two brothers having died in early life) was married to Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby, grandson of King Henry III., who thus gained two other earldoms by this marriage, *i.e.* those of Lincoln and Salisbury. He was beheaded at Pontefract in 1322. Nine months after her husband's death his widow was restored to her ancestral dignity of Countess of Lincoln. She died in 1348, and was buried in Barlings Abbey beside her second husband, Ebulo le Strange. Her inheritance devolved upon her first husband's nephew, Henry, Earl of Lancaster, who by letters-patent on August 20, 1349, was created Earl of Lincoln. In 1351 he was advanced to the dignity of Duke of Lancaster. In his will, made at his castle of Leicester in 1361, he styles himself 'Henry, Duc de Lancastre, Counte de Derby, de Nichol, et de Leicestre, seneschal d'Engleterre, seigneur de Bruggerak et de Beufort.' (The last name shows how the children of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford came to be called 'Beaufort.') Blanche, Duke Henry's daughter, and ultimately his sole heir, married John of Gaunt (or Ghent), Earl of Richmond (the fourth son of King Edward III.), who assumed in consequence the titles of Duke of Lancaster, Earl of Richmond, Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester. He also signs as a witness to a Lincoln charter of King Richard II. in 1378 as King of Castile and Leon. He died in 1394, and in the following year his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, became King of England—the only native king of which Lincolnshire can boast—and the representation of the ancient dignity of the Earldom of Lincoln became merged in the Crown. At his coronation the king appointed his half-brother, John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, to

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**Lincoln** perform the office of carver, which appertained of right to the Earldom of Lincoln; but the title of Earl of Lincoln was not distinctly revived until, in 1467, King Edward iv. conferred it on his nephew, John de la Pole, son of and heir-apparent to the Duke of Suffolk. This earl died without issue twenty years afterwards. Again, in the year 1525, King Henry viii. bestowed this dignity on his sister's son, Henry, son of and heir-apparent to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, but this earl died in childhood. Lastly, the Earldom of Lincoln was given by Queen Elizabeth in 1572 to the Lord High Admiral, Edward, Lord Clinton, in whose family it has descended to the present Duke of Newcastle, and is the honorary title of the eldest son.

The 'Bail' or 'Bailey' (the name survives in 'Bailgate'), originally included all the upper city within the Roman walls, under the entire authority of the custodian, constable, or lord of the Castle, but afterwards the Close was taken out of it. It then contained the Castle and adjoining streets to the walls of the city and Close.

Pillars, with the city arms thereon, will be noticed a few yards north of Newport Arch, south of the site of the Roman Southgate (on Steep Hill), and east of the crossing of Northgate and Priory Gate with Eastgate. They mark where the city dominion comes in.

Nearly all the chief objects of interest within the limits of the Bail have been already described or alluded to: among the remainder are a good half-timbered house with moulded and carved spurs, at the junction of Bailgate and Castle Hill; a series of cellars of Edwardian, *i.e.* Decorated date, beneath three or four of the houses in Bailgate on the west side opposite to the end of Eastgate, of much the

same period and character as those beneath many of the houses of Winchelsea. In or next door to the Lion and Snake Inn, Bailgate, lived James Yorke, blacksmith, author of *The Union of Honour* (1640), which treats of all the nobility of England, and gives a useful list with woodcuts of the arms of the Lincolnshire gentlemen. To those of Monson he adds the following marginal note: 'As for this worthy family of the *Monsons*, my duty binds me to acknowledge their favours, receaved from them in this worke. As also to expresse that from their being in the Country, they have matched and allyed themselves with most of the ancient Families of this County.' Descendants of his have lived at Burton till within recent years.

After Norman times, no doubt, the city walls and defences were practically identical with those of the first and second Roman cities together. And the wall covering the north-west and north-east angles of the north side of the upper city must have been in a fair state of defence at as late a date as the reign of King Charles I., as we have seen that St. Nicholas Church, just outside Newport Arch, was destroyed so as not to afford shelter or a convenient 'point d'appui' to any who were likely to attack that part of the city. The wall was figured in Speed's Map, 1610, as existing then. Later on, the Close wall on the north and east (which formed an exceedingly strong position, and which does not seem to have had much attack made on it, to judge by its present excellent state of preservation), was the only defence of this part of the city, the city wall proper joining it below the Bishop's Palace, and continuing to the water almost on the Roman line, with a gatehouse at Claxlede or Clasketgate. This gate (which may have replaced one of Roman construction on this site) was

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Lincoln situated at the junction of Broadgate with Silver Street. It was probably originally Norman, as to judge from an old print of it the gateway was formed by a round-headed arch: the rest of the building being long and rather low, with battlemented coping, high-pitched gables north and south, and narrow loops in the walls. Here, as mentioned above, the Templars were confined. The south-eastern corner of the city wall ended in a tower, near the Green Dragon Inn; hence also on Roman lines it stretched right across the city, having a gateway in the middle called the Stonebow. There must have been a gatehouse here (probably again replacing a Roman one on the same site) for a century or two before the present one, as in the ordination of the chantry of William Fitz-Fulk in the Minster Records, there is mentioned 'Parochia Sti. Petri prope *Stanbogh*' (the parish of St. Peter near the Stonebow), and the date of this ordination must be about the years 1220-1230.

The existing gate which serves for a Guildhall for the meetings of the Corporation, will be more fittingly described in the chapter devoted to the government of the city.

From the Stonebow westwards the city wall seems to have gone along the north side of Guildhall Street, and thence to the edge of the water as far as Lucy Tower Street, where there was a small tower called mistakenly—the error seems attributable to Stukely—by the name properly belonging to the castle keep. This tower and wall are well shown in Buck's South-west Prospect of the City, dated 1748. Hence it proceeded north to Newland, where there was a gatehouse at its junction with the wall, founded on the Roman west wall. This gatehouse was apparently composed of one pointed arch and a room over it with a mullioned window and high gable above, but

it had been much rebuilt in comparatively recent times. With the growth and development of the southern portion of Lincoln—the suburb of Wigford or Wickenford—the whole of this south wall with its ditch became useless. Accordingly by a charter of King Edward II. in 1316 the citizens were allowed to appropriate to their own use the various unoccupied and waste places in the city, of which this wall and the ditch were not the least important. And evidently full use was made of this permission, as we know from another charter granted in 1327 by King Edward III., in which the citizens were granted the profit of the buildings which they had erected on the city wall ‘*ex transverso de Newlandegate usque mansum fratrum de ordine Minorum*,’ *i.e.* from Newland Gate to the Grey Friars, in divers places near Water Gate and Soper Lane, with power to erect additional buildings. Other portions of these ancient mural defences became waste after their extensive dismantling at the conclusion of the war between King Charles I. and the Parliament, especially after the capture of the city by the latter’s forces in 1644. Soon afterwards, a considerable extent of the eastern wall, from Clasket Gate to the Palace walls, was leased by the Corporation, and about the same time the western line of wall known as Saffron Garth escheated also into the same hands from the same cause. The defence of the suburbs of Wigford, or the whole of the lower part of the city south of the High Bridge, seems to have consisted (with one exception, to be mentioned presently), in the Witham on the west side, and the Sincil Dyke on the south and east. Probably the swampy and marshy state of the adjoining country for some distance eastwards and westwards would make these waterways sufficient to protect this part of the city from attack. Where,

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Lincoln however, the main road passed southwards over the Sincil Dyke, the entrance to the city was guarded by a pointed arch—the Great Bar Gate—and from this a line of wall ran eastwards to another bridge over the Dyke, which was defended by another—the Little Bar Gate—consisting of an arch with gable over, and two round towers, one on either side. The original stone bridge was removed and replaced by a wooden one, when the Dyke was widened, and a continuation of it formed (running parallel to the Witham below Lincoln) called the Catchwater Drain. These defences have been attributed to the Norman period, when the city extended southwards, in consequence of the clearances above hill due to the Minster and the Castle.

In 1562 on the 5th of November it was ordered that: ‘Eastbargate, Clasgate Gate, Newlandgate, and Westbargate be amended and hung, so that they may be shut at night time and their walls to be mended.’ But the order for these repairs must have either escaped notice or been somewhat perfunctorily carried out, as only three years later, on June 9, 1565, we read that—‘The Tower at the Eastbargate which is decayed and fallen down to be set up and amended’; and in the same year, on August 25, ‘The decayed town wall from the Westbargate unto the old Tower to be mended.’ In 1756 (also on June 9), it was decreed that the Great Bargates were to be pulled down.

Brayford, which is the large and picturesque sheet of water, formed by the Witham running north, joining the Fossdyke, and then turning eastwards on its way to Boston, must have been in early days much more extensive. Two or three large pools are known to have existed on its south-western margin; one, Swanpool, was only drained in the last century, and to it

the Judges of Assize were taken formerly in the Corporation barge for a day's fishing, when here on circuit. Nicol Pool (curiously retaining the old Norman name of the city) and Cuckoo Pool are also mentioned. On the south bank of the Witham, soon after its emergence from Brayford, were some steps down into the water at the back of the Baptist Chapel, used for the purpose of baptizing adults.

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The walk along the north bank to the High Bridge and High Street is well worth taking. The bridge itself is undoubtedly one of the oldest existing in the kingdom. The High Street passes over the earliest part of it, which consists of five semicircular projecting stone vaulting-ribs with chamfered edges, the outer two 4 feet wide, the three intermediate 3 feet in width. Between these ribs was stone barrel-vaulting semicircular in form and following the lines of the ribs. This work has been dated with much probability about the year 1160. About the year 1235 a considerable addition eastwards was made to the bridge, 22 feet square, arched with quadripartite groined vaulting, having diagonal vaulting-ribs from corner to corner, and double ribs at the north and east ends and possibly at the south end also. This extension was for the purpose of supporting the chapel of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which must have taken the place of a still earlier chapel, as in the reign of King John a grant was made to Peter of Paris of the advowson of the chapel on Lincoln Bridge, with injunction to pray for the King's soul, his ancestors and successors, etc. In or before 1272 Elias the Parson gave lands in Briggate (*i.e.* that part of the High Street which was between the Stonebow and the High Bridge) towards its maintenance.

In 1304 the Mayor and citizens either were invested

with its patronage, or founded it anew under the title of St. Thomas the Martyr. In 1324 Bishop Burgersh had to issue an injunction to the city authorities respecting the repairs, its deficiency of books, ornaments, etc. A writ is still extant dated 1316, the seventh year of King Edward II., in which 'John de la Chapel, Parson of the Chapell of St. Thomas the Martyr, super pontem Linc., is acquitted of tallage for the lands annext to his chapell.'

Another chantry also existed in this chapel, *i.e.* that of Thomas de Wigford and Agnes, his wife, who founded it in 1330 in St. Benedict's Church, whence it was transferred to St. Thomas's Chapel; and the Mayor and Corporation were invested also with the advowson, as we learn from the admission on the 20th of July 1476, by the Dean and Chapter, of Richard Codyngton, priest, to the chantry of Thomas de Wigford in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, 'super magnum pontem Linc. fondatum,' on the presentation of William Killingworth, then Mayor of Lincoln, and all the community thereof, which was vacant through the death of Robert Garnet the last chaplain there.

'Another Chantry was to have been founded here,' says an old historian of Lincoln, 'for George Heneage, Archdeacon and afterwards Dean of Lincoln, for which purpose he gave the City one hundred pounds, and certain plate for the use of the said intended Chantry, April 18, 1542, in consideration that the City should found a Chantry for him on the High Brigg after seven years then next ensuing of five pounds yearly stipend. But, the times changing, he was glad to get his plate and forty pounds of his money returned.' The chapel was desecrated, and on April 8, 1549, the bells of the chapel on the High Bridge were to be taken down with the 'topell,' and

the chapel was to be made a dwelling-house and to be let. On November 3, 1569, it was granted to the Company of Tanners and Butchers as a hall for their fellowship. It was used as a chandler's shop and house about the year 1740, and was pulled down in 1763 when the present obelisk was erected in its stead. The chapel, to judge from a sketch taken a year or two before its destruction, was a high-gabled building, with three lancet windows beneath a wheel window in the eastern face. 'In former times most of the bridges,' says Ross, 'had a ford for the passage of horses and vehicles. That at the Gowts Drain was between two bridges, while the one at the Witham was on the eastern side of the Bridge.' And it was over this ford that the chapel extension took place.

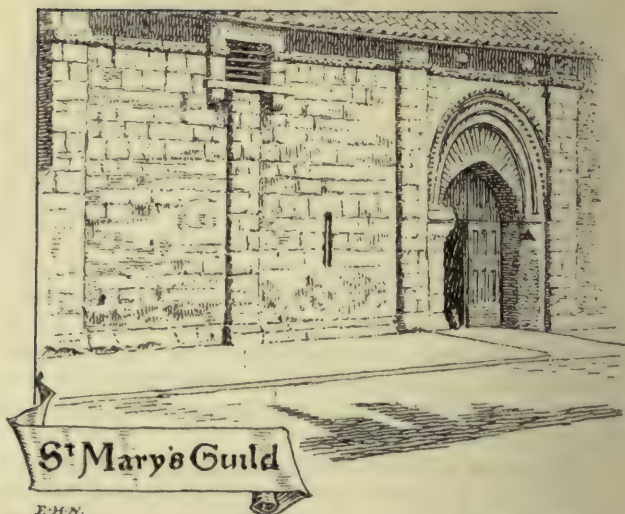
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The second addition which was made to the bridge consisted of a two-centred flat-pointed arch, having a broad chamfer on its outer edges, on the western side of the bridge, to support the half-timbered range of houses of about the date 1540. This range and the bridge generally, have been thoroughly well restored in the last two or three years under the direction of Messrs. W. Watkins and Son, Architects, from whose report much of the foregoing account is derived.

The most notable of the ancient houses in Lincoln may now be described, excluding those already noticed, such as the Jews' Houses in the general history, and those in the Close and the Bail.

Commencing at the lower end of the city, a little above the church of St. Peter-at-Gowts is the fine Norman building popularly known as John of Gaunt's Stables. In reality this was the local habitation of the Guild of St. Mary, which was so large and important that it is often referred to simply as the Great





Guild. In 1545 it was proposed to use the plate and money belonging to this Guild for certain suits to the King for release from a vexatious and burdensome impost, but Alderman William Yattes, in whose custody it was, utterly and obstinately refused to do so; but being threatened with a fine of £20 and imprisonment consented. Later on in the same year the Mayor certified having received the aforesaid plate and money, and on the '14th of November, William Yatts, graceman of the guild of our lady St. Mary, called the Great Guild, founded in Wykford, William Hill and William Smyth clerk, wardens of the said guild, with the consent of the whole fraternity, brethren and sisters, for the relief of the city give to the mayor, sheriffs, and commonalty and their successors for ever, all the lands, tenements and hereditaments belonging to the said guild, etc.' And

on the 5th of February 1546 the plate belonging to the Great Guild is brought in. 'First the Chalice and cover double gilt, weighing 30 ounces. Item, the standing cup with the cover, double gilt weighing 27 ounces. Item, the brod . . cup with the cover, double gilt, weighing 22 ounces. Item, one standing silver cup parcel gilt with the cover, weighing 15½ ounces. Item, one dozen silver spoons, with gilt knops, weighing 15 ounces. Total value, £24, 13s. 4d.'

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It has apparently formed a small court, but only the north and west sides (much of which, extending south to the churchyard, has been removed recently) now exist. The street front has lost half of its upper story, and beneath the windows runs a rich cornice of foliage. The semicircular-headed entrance arch is richly moulded, with small sunk flowers in the dripstone. The lower story is only lit with narrow loops, and is strengthened with flat pilasters. On entering the court there is a good Transition Norman house on the left hand, with two-light windows and a plain Norman fireplace within.

From a window in this building was executed Lord Hussey, one of the leaders already mentioned in the rebellion against King Henry VIII. Leland mentions the Guild Court thus: 'A little above Gote Bridge on the east side of the High Street, is a fair Guild hall'longing to Saint Ann's Church of the foundation of Burton and Sutton, Merchants. A very goodly house 'longing to Sutton is hard on the north side of St. Anne's Churchyard.' This 'very goodly house' is no doubt that still called 'John of Gaunt's' almost opposite St. Mary's Guild (and on the site of St. Anne's Church, while the new shops were being built some few years ago, were found several coffins and skeletons). At the time of its being sketched by Buck (1726) it must still have retained a con-

Lincoln      siderable share of its pristine dignity and importance. There was a northern portion, somewhat recessed back from the street, which bore evidence of Decorated work in its windows, while underneath a gable in the middle of the block of building is a shield of John of Gaunt (France and England quarterly with a label of three points *ermine*) surmounted by his helm and mantling. The rest of the house seemed to be of Perpendicular date, which is confirmed by a plate of Grimm's, taken in 1788, which shows clearly Perpendicular two-light, square-headed windows, a plain buttress and a battlemented cornice. On the south wall of the house in Buck's plate can be seen the beautiful oriel window of Decorated date which, about the middle of the last century, was bought and removed for safety to the Castle Gateway by the then Lord-Lieutenant Earl Brownlow, Mr. Maurice Peter Moore, and Mr. Kirk. The place whence this window was taken was quite evident in the existing house on the site in its south wall till shops were built up against it. Much of this house was destroyed in 1737, and in 1783 more still, so that little indeed now remains of John of Gaunt's Palace, only about the southern third of the original house, and that much pulled about and altered. An interesting Perpendicular window is in the pantry on the west side of the house, and has been figured by Pugin. The Ondeburch-Graven Kasteel, or Chateau des Comtes at Ghent, wherein Edward III. and his Queen Philippa were entertained by Jacques Van Artevelde in 1339, and where John of Gaunt (*i.e.* Gand or Ghent) was born in 1340, has only recently—within the last twelve years—been cleared of the houses built in and around it. By his first wife, Blanche of Artois, daughter of Henry, first Duke of Lancaster (and Earl of Lincoln), he became connected with

Lincoln. To him is ascribed the building of Cobb Castle, Hall Tower in the Castle. His third wife Katherine, Bail, daughter of Sir Paen Rouet, a Gascon, and widow of City Sir Hugh Swynford, a Lincolnshire knight, probably Walls, lived in the house pictured by Buck, as did her High daughter Joan, who married the first Earl of West- Bridge, morland. Both mother and daughter lie buried in and Old the Minster, as described previously. Houses

John of Gaunt himself died in 1399, and was buried beneath a sumptuous monument (of which an engraving is given in Rapin's *History*) in old St. Paul's, which was of course destroyed in the Great Fire of London. It is also said to have previously fallen a victim to the Cromwellians. It is in his mouth Lincolnshire men and Lincoln citizens may remember, with a certain pride, that Shakespeare puts the most patriotic lines that he ever wrote.

A numerous and important family of Suttons (from Burton by Lincoln) dwelt in this house in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and had a mortuary chapel in the church of St. Andrew (which stood immediately south of the Palace) which, when that church was on the point of being pulled down by the Corporation in 1551, made them try and claim it as private property, without success. Another chapel (which seems frequently to have been inhabited by an anchorite or anchoress, and many bequests are noted in Mr. Gibbons's *Early Lincoln Wills* to this class of recluse: thus, in 1394, Wm. de Snell-eston leaves 'Anachorite sancti Andree in Wyk-ford, vjs. viijd.') was dedicated to St. Anne, and belonged to a great and popular Guild of that name, to which there are many references in the Corporation Records. On the 5th of November 1547 it was ordered that an inventory should be brought in of the jewels, plate, and ornaments lately belonging to



Lincoln the procession of St. Anne's sight, and the same were to be sold to the use of the Common Chamber. In the year 1550 is an entry in the Corporation Records as follows: 'Proof to be given after searching the Cathedral and city records, to Hamond Sutton and — Thorold, Esqs., that the Church of St. Andrew in Wikford is a parish church, and not a church built by the Suttons of Lincoln their predecessors only for their own ease and commodity, and therefore claimed by them as their property.' Later on, after satisfactory proof had been given of the wrongness of the Sutton claim, 'yet because Mr. Sutton's ancestors were beneficial to the City and also for the obtaining of their goodwill the late parish church of St. Andrew shall be offered to them' (Thomas Hussey, Esq., and Ambrose Sutton, Esq.) 'for 53l.' It had been appraised a year or two before at lxxxijl. xvjs. ix d; 'the leade over the church' being valued at lvj l., the stone of the 'said churche and steple at vl., the ij. church dores with the locks' at vs., and 'the rodelofte with all thinges pertheyninge to the same' at xiijs. iiij d.

A few doors north of John of Gaunt's was the quondam town-house of the Bromhead family (of whom a number of memorials will be found in St. Peter-at-Gowts Church). Unfortunately it had had a stuccoed and painted front, obliterating the original Jacobean one, but it still showed traces of age in its chimney-stacks. There was, until a few years ago, some exceedingly good oak panelling and overmantels in this house, which was pulled down in 1904.

Just above the level crossing of the Midland and Great Central Railways, and on the east side of the street, is a handsome stone one-storied house of Queen Anne date, now used as the Inland Revenue

Offices. It was the town-house of the Sibthorp family (of whom St. Mark's Church has some monuments), and contains some good chimney-pieces. It forms the front of a still older house.

In a narrow yard just south of the Great Northern Hotel stables, on the same side of the street, is a fairly well-preserved fifteenth-century half-timbered house, with a round-headed Early English doorway below, popularly but erroneously called 'The White Friars,' for that was on the other side of the High Street, on the site of the Midland Railway Station.

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*Oriel Window  
from John of  
Gaunt's Palace*



STONEBOW  
AND GUILDHALL

## CHAPTER XII

### MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIC LIFE



STEEP HILL

PROBABLY from very early days Lincoln has possessed very large powers of local government or municipal Home Rule. As a Roman colony she certainly would have such, possibly also as a Saxon town, one of the most important in the island; certainly again, when she was a member of the Danelagh—the five Danish burghs—as has been narrated earlier in this history. King Edward the Confessor would in all probability confirm these powers of the inhabitants, as will be seen from the charters of King Henry II. It is interesting

also to note that at the time of Domesday there were still twelve Lage or Law men having sac or soke (*i.e.* jurisdiction over their peoples, persons, and estates), some with absolutely Scandinavian names, such as Hardecnut, Ulf, and Walroven. According to pleadings held before King Edward III. at Lincoln, on a



Lincoln question of taxes and privileges between the Dean and Chapter and the city, in the time of William the Conqueror, there were three Provosts appointed for the purpose of collecting the King's dues. From the charter just mentioned, dated 1157, that of King Henry II. (the earliest known of a long series extending from that king to King William III.), the monarch granted 'to my Citizens of Lincoln all their liberties, customs and laws, which they had in the times of Edward and William and Henry Kings of England, and their mercantile Guild of men of the City and of other merchants of the County.'

King Richard I. (1194) gave the city the right to elect the Provost, who was to pay the King £180, half before Easter and the other half at Michaelmas.

By the charter of King John (1200) and in that of King Henry III. (1227) the citizens were allowed to meet weekly in 'Burewaremot'—or Burgh ward mote (equivalent to our modern meeting in Common Council).

'Further, we will and grant that the same citizens of the City of Lincoln choose by means of the Common Council of the City two of the more loyal and discreet citizens of Lincoln and present them to the Chief Justice at Westminster, who will take good and faithful care of the Provostship of the City of Lincoln, and they will not be removed as long as they are of good behaviour except by the Common Council of their City.' It is not quite clear how or when this mercantile Guild gradually became merged in the 'Burewaremot,' but as in the last charter the Common Council were expressly mentioned, so we very speedily come to the mention of a Mayor, or *Major Civitatis*. As might be expected of such an ancient city as Lincoln, the name of the first Mayor (on record) was Adam! In 1210 the citizens of Lincoln

are related (from the testimony of the Pipe Rolls) to have owed the Exchequer £100 that they might have Adam for their Mayor so long as he pleased the King. Also in a donation to Kirkstead Abbey about the same time, one of the witnesses is Adam, son of Reginaldus, Mayor of Lincoln. The Mayor would be over the Provosts, who are known after the change as Bailiffs. Lincoln appears to have been twice deprived of its Mayor during this century, as (from the Close Rolls) in the year 1225 it is stated that it is the King's (Henry III.) wish and pleasure that the citizens of Lincoln, who were then without a Mayor, should elect for that office such person as was loyal towards the King, to whom he was to be presented before entering his office, and such a one as was fit and convenient for the citizens. Again, on the 16th of May 1290, the citizens were deprived of their Mayor by order of the King (Edward I.) who appointed a *Custos Civitatis* in lieu of the *Major Civitatis*, to collect all dues and revenues then fallen into the King's hands, and the dignity of Mayor was not restored for ten years, when the King was staying, as has been related previously, at Nettleham, and the new charter was signed 'apud Linc.' on February 25, 1301.

In the thirteenth century Lincoln reached its greatest pitch of success as a seaport, ranking as the fourth port in the kingdom, only surpassed by London, Boston, and Southampton. In the sixth year of King John (1204-5), for example, for the quinzeme of merchants arising out of the various seaports of England, London paid £830, 12s. 10d., Boston £780, 15s. 3d., Southampton £712, 3s. 7½d., and Lincoln £656, 12s. 2d., justifying thus in some degree the somewhat effusive language of William of Malmesbury when he calls 'Lindecolnia' 'one of

Lincoln the most populous cities of England, the mart of visitors by land and sea.'

The charter of King Charles I. (1628) also says, 'our City of Lincoln in the County of our City of Lincoln, of long time hath been a city very ancient and populous, defended with Walls and Towers and one of the chiefest Seats of our whole Kingdom of England for the Staple and public Market of Wool-sellers and Merchant Strangers meeting together.'

Certain 'Provisions' written about the end of King Edward I.'s reign (1291) for the staple of wool, leather and skins in England, Ireland, and Wales, are addressed 'au Meire<sup>1</sup> de sa cité de Nicole,' which was one of the cities assigned for the staple, thus greatly enriching the city for a considerable number of years to come. Of a later date in the same reign probably, there are other provisions in a document belonging to the Corporation, prescribing that there was to be a Mayor, with twelve discreet men to be judicial arbitrators or magistrates of the city, two bailiffs, a ponderator for weighing all stapulary articles, four discreet men to have the custody of the profits of tallages, tolls, etc., of the city, and two trustworthy men to be constables in each parish. The charter of King Edward II. (June 15, 1316) is addressed 'Maiori, Ballivis et civibus,' for the first time in the history of the city. Unfortunately the prosperity of the city does not seem to have endured very long, the most important factor—that of the staple—having been removed to Boston, whereupon trade rapidly and continuously decayed in Lincoln. After the beginning of the fifteenth century the complaints of the citizens to the King were frequently renewed as to the heavy weight of the fee-farm rent (£180) and

<sup>1</sup> Apparently overlooking the order, previously quoted, of the 16th May 1290.

the impossibility of levying it on the diminished and impoverished inhabitants. King Henry iv., in his charter of 1409 in answer to these complaints, gave the city the privilege of electing two Sheriffs instead of two Bailiffs, of being styled 'The County of the City of Lincoln,' the Mayor to be the 'King's Escheator with power to render accounts to the King's Exchequer by Attorney, the Mayor and four others to be Justices of the Peace, and the receipt (in aid of the payment of the fee-farm rent), of the annual rent of six pounds paid to the Crown by the weavers of the City.'

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King Henry vi. in answer to similar petitions, on the 13th of March 1447 gave a licence to the Mayor and citizens to acquire land, tenements, and rents to the value of £120 per annum, and exonerated them from all payments of tenths and fifteenths for the period of forty years. The petitioners urged the depauperisation of the city by the withdrawal of merchants, and by a great pestilence which had continued there a long time, and other worldly misfortunes, that scarcely two hundred citizens remained in the city, and that not one of them could bear the burden of the annual payment (£180), notwithstanding that the King by authority of Parliament had released them from some part of the payment of the tenths and fifteenths. The King, indeed, six years before the date of this charter, had given them letters-patent and warrant to permit the Mayor and citizens to export to Calais annually for three years sixty sacks of wool free from the tax on wool lately imposed for subsidy by Parliament.

It was probably to King Edward iv. that a petition in French was presented by the citizens, praying for relief and stating the following facts: That many of the inhabitants of the city have departed with all their goods, people will not trade there because of



Lincoln the excessive charge, the highways as well as the lanes are empty and desolate for want of tenants, and the city is consequently on the verge of destruction.

Of the fee-farm rent £80 had been granted by the King's royal progenitors to the Cathedral Church of our Lady of 'Nicole,' in three portions, viz. £17 for the work of the Chapter, 40s. in augmentation of the stipend of the Chaplains chanting for the King and his forefathers, and £60 to the Chaplains of the Chantry for the soul of Sir Bartholomew Burghersh (Bartholomew, Lord Burghersh, being licensed by King Henry III. to assign that portion of the fee-farm rent of the city to the Dean and Chapter, which the King had granted him) and Lady de Roos; that is to say, Beatrice, who was the wife of Sir Thomas de Roos, late Lord of Hamelok (Hamlake), is seized for her life of the remaining part of the said rent, viz. £100, it having been granted by King Edward II. to the Lords de Roos and their heirs in exchange for the Castle of Wark.

As part of the lands, etc., to be obtained by the Corporation, King Henry VI. gave a licence on the 24th day of November 1456 to sell the Manor of Canyk (Canwick). Another part of the property was the Manor of Ingham with lands and tenements in Coates, leased or demised to one Robert Burton (who had been Mayor of Lincoln in 1445). He had been ejected from this property by William, Lord Tailboys, the tenant *in capite*, a staunch Lancastrian and representative of the Barons of Kyme, of which barony these lands were part and parcel. On the overthrow of Lord Tailboys' party when he died on the scaffold in 1461, his lands were forfeit to the Crown, so that it was by this forfeiture that King Edward VI. was able to grant this property to the

Lincoln Corporation. In 1472 the attainder of Lord Tailboys was reversed, and his lands were restored to the family. King Edward iv. also granted to the city the remission of £100 per annum out of the fee-farm rent on the forfeiture of the estates of Thomas, Lord Roos, a Lancastrian. However, in 1473 the attainder was repealed, and the £100 yearly was demanded of and paid by the Corporation as heretofore.

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King Edward iv. also granted to the Corporation the villages of Braunstone (Branston), Wadyngtone (Waddington), Bracebrigge (Bracebridge), and Canwik (Canwick), to be separated from the County and annexed to the County of the City of Lincoln, as well as a large number of quit-rents in the city hitherto paid to the Crown.

By a Charter dated December 2, 1484, King Richard iii. granted a further extension of the County of the City, which embraced the villages and hamlets of Washingborough, Heighington, Fiskerton, Greetwell, Cherry Willingham, and Burton-juxta-Lincoln.

On May 28, 1509, a general pardon was given (probably in return for a considerable donation of money) to the citizens of Lincoln by King Henry viii., who much later in his reign, *i.e.* on the 11th of December 1546, by letters-patent, for the sum of £135, 14s. 3½d. gave to the Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens, etc., of Lincoln, for the relief of their burden, the advowsons and rectories of Hanslope Bucks., Hemsell, Surfleet and Belton Lincs.

At length, on the 30th of July 1558, Henry, Earl of Rutland, who was descended from and inherited the estates of the Lord de Roos, was content to receive, in lieu of the annual payment of £100, the sum of £300 (400 marks) in hand and the parsonage, etc., of Surfleet.

The various officers besides the Mayor and the two Sheriffs to be elected annually at the close of the sixteenth century were as follows: Four chamberlains and four constables, one for each ward; the common clerk; three Mayor's servants, the sword-bearer, the Mace serjeant, and the bellman; the sheriff's clerk; three Sheriff's officers; four keepers of the Keys of the Chest; three keepers of the Keys of the Pyx; four searchers of tanned leather; two searchers for curried leather and searchers for not coming to sermons, etc.; the churchwardens of each parish who were to present the offenders every Monday to the Mayor. Besides these, there were overseers of the commons and a pinder elected at the yearly view of frankpledge. The charter of King Charles I. (under which the city was governed till 1834) established the Common Council with thirteen aldermen, four coroners, four chamberlains, etc., and was dated December 18, 1628.

Mention has been made of the Mercantile Guild in the earliest City Charter, that of King Henry II., which very possibly was the source of many other guilds which sprang up later; but the Corporation, if it started as the Mercantile Guild and produced the others, acted also like Aaron's rod and swallowed them all up. The late Mr. John Ross was of opinion that, on the suppression of these guilds, the union and fellowship of their members were transferred to the secular trade companies.

The absorption of the great Guild of St. Mary has been already noticed: there were apparently fourteen or more guilds besides. Of these the most important was that of St. Anne, to which it was agreed in 1519 that every man and woman in the city, being able, shall be brother and sister in St. Anne's Guild, and shall pay yearly 4d. man and

wife at the least. Its shows and pageants are noted from the year 1514 to that of 1568. In the year 1515 it was agreed that whereas divers garments and other 'heriorments' are yearly borrowed in the county for the arraying of the pageants of St. Anne's Guild, but now the knights and gentlemen are afraid with the plague so that the 'graceman' cannot borrow such garments, every alderman shall prepare and set forth in the said array two good gowns, and every sheriff and every chamberlain a gown, and the persons with them shall wear the same. And the constables are ordered to wait upon the array in procession, both to keep the people from the array and also to take heed of such as wore garments in the same. Again, in 1521, as the plague was raging, it was decided to borrow a gown of my Lady Powes for one of the Maries, and the other Mary to be 'arrayed in the crimson gown of velvet that belongeth to the gild: and the prior of St. Katherine's to be spoken with to have such "honourments" as we have had aforetime.' In 1547 the inventory was taken of the jewels, plate, and ornaments lately belonging to the procession of St. Anne's sight, and the same were to be sold to the use of the Common Chamber. In the year 1549, the Clerks' Guild was to bring in all the belongings of the Guild, plate, jewels, implements, books, writings and evidences, to the Corporation.

The charter of the painters, gilders, stainers, and alabaster men, or the Guild of St. Luke, as founded in the seventeenth year of King Henry VIII. (1525), gives a very interesting list of pre-Reformation ordinances. The first ordinance provides that on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Luke, every brother and sister shall attend upon the graceman and wardens and go in procession having a great candle

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Lincoln to be borne from an appointed place to the cathedral church and there 'ij of every' (every two?) of the brethren and sisters to offer one halfpenny or more after their devotion, and there to offer the great candle before an image of St. Luke within the church: and any who are absent without lawful cause to forfeit one pound of wax to the sustentation of the said great candle. The second ordinance provides for the dining together of the fraternity on that Sunday, for love and amity and good communication to be had for the weal of the fraternity, every brother paying for himself and his wife there present, 4d.: absentees to forfeit one pound of wax towards the aforesaid candle. The third ordinance is that four 'Mornspeches' shall be holden yearly in such place as the graceman shall assign, for ordering and good rule to be had and made amongst them: absentees to be subject to the same penalty as above. Ordinances IV.-XI. and XIII. regulate the taking of apprentices and the setting up in trade, forbid the employing of strangers, provide for the settlement of disputes and the examination of work not sufficiently done after the sample, etc. Ordinance XII. provides for the obits. 'When it shall happen any brother or suster of the seid fraternytye to departe and dicease from this world, at his furst masse the graceman and wardens for the tyme beyng schall offer of the seid goodes and cattelles of the seid fraternytye ijd, and at his viiith day or xxxth day every brother and suster to gyve to a pore creature a signe to be made and delyveryd by the deane of the seid fraternytye for the tyme beyng; for the whiche signe every brother and suster shall gyve to the forseid deane *ob.*, with the which money so gathered the seid deane to buye whyte breade, and to gyve to every pore man or wuman so cummyng

with any of the seid signes *ob.* in breade. And this to be done and devided at ye parisshe churche wher the seid brother or suster diceased or elles last was dwellyng within ye cyty of Lincoln.'

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On March 4, 1564, it was agreed that a standing play of some story of the Bible shall be played two days that summer time, and persons were appointed to gather what every one would give to the play; and in 1566 it was determined that the stage play of the story of Toby should go forward and be played in next Whitsun holydays. Fortunately a record was kept of the various 'properties' of this stage play as 'it was played in the moneth of July anno sexto regni reginae Elizabethae (1564), in the tyme of the mayoralty of Richard Carter, whiche play was then played in Brodgaite in the seid citye, and it was of the storye of Tobias in the Old Testament.'

'First, hell mouth with a neither chap	}	Lying at Mr. Norton's
Item, a prison with a coveryng		house in the tenure of
Item, Sara(s) chambre		William Smart.

Item, a greate idoll with a clubb	}	remanyng in Saynt Swythunes churche.
Item, a tombe with a coveryng		
Item, the citie of Jerusalem with towers & pynacles		
Item, the citie of Raiges with towers & pynacles		
Item, the citie of Nynyvye		
Item, the Kyng's palace of Nynyvye		
Item, olde Toby's house		
Item, the Isralytes house and the neigh- bures house		
Item, the Kyngs palace at Laches		
Item, a fyrmament with a fierye clowde and a duble clowde, in the custodie of Thomas Fulbeck, alderman.'		

From these guilds and company pageants and 'sights' the transition is easy to what should have been a source of music and, we may trust, harmony,

Lincoln in the persons of the City Waits, who were officers belonging to the Mayor. In an ordinance dated April 21, 1422, the Mayor was to have allowance for only two servants, viz. his macebearer and clerk, and livery for three *minstrels* at eight shillings each. And in 1512 Thomas Vessey was to have as Mayor, 'for the kepyn of his hows £10, and to gyff to ye mynstrells as other maiors had done before tyme of old ancient custom 34s. 4d.'

Here undoubtedly is the beginning of the musical performers known afterwards as Waits, a name which has come down to us as especially meaning a band of midnight minstrels at Christmas time. In 1480 the custom of proclaiming Christmas is described as follows: 'Off sent Thomas day the apostylle befor Crystemes. When the Mayr of the Cite be his officers' (the Waits) 'hathe proclamyd the prewalege, gyrthe, and the solempnite of the fest of the byrthe of oure Lord, that then after the sayd proclamacion made evere franchest man and denyssen inhabite within this Cite schalle have free liberte and sayffegarde in honeste mirth and gam sportis to goo or doe what hym pleys. And nogth to be attachyd or arrestyd be any officere of this Cite for any accion personelx without the kyng be parte or servyd be the Kyngis wryt. And this to be observyd and kept to *twelff* day callyd the fest of the Epyphany be past, and then evere man take thayr awantage in the law.'

Fortunately some fifteen stanzas have come down to the present time of a Christmas poem or carol sung or spoken by the Waits, as a warning beforehand of the right keeping of Christmas—the ceremony alluded to above as 'crying Christmas.' The MSS. is headed 'anno xxv officii Willelmi Hynde communis clerici civitatis Lincoln,' which was in the

year 1565. The Senatours were three in number (possibly representing the three wise men), and were taken by the three waits. A few verses will suffice:

*'The first Senatour.*

The Maker allmyghtye, the grounde of alle grace,  
Save this congregation that be here present,  
And bryng them all to the celestyall place  
That with pacyens wyll here the effect of our intent.

*The second Senatour.*

Oure intent and purpose is auneynt customes to declare  
That haue been vsed in this citie manye yeres ago,  
And nowe for to breake them we wysse ye schuld beware,  
For ther be grevous ponysshment for them y<sup>t</sup> wyll do soe.

*The thurd Senatour.*

At the tyme of Cristmas myrthe hath ben made  
Throughout all nacyons of the Crystiane faith,  
And styll so to keip it ye nede not be affrayde,  
For then was our Savyour bourn as the Scripture saith.

*The first Senatour.*

At that tyme saith Saynt Johne appeared our perfight lyght  
And the Saveyour of all the world y<sup>t</sup> faithfully trust in hym.  
Saynt Luke in y<sup>e</sup> second chapitour declaryng his strenght  
and myght,  
Therefore at that tyme to be merye we wyssh ye schuld begyn.

*The second Senatour.*

The Aungelles with myrthe the schepperdes did obey,  
When they song *Gloria in excelsis* in tuynes mystycall,  
The byrdes w<sup>t</sup> solemnytye song on every spray,  
And the beastes for joye made reuerence in there stall.

*The thurd Senatour.*

Therefore w<sup>t</sup> a contrite hart let hus be merye all  
Havyng a stedfast faith and a love most amyable,  
Disdaynyng no man of power greate nor small,  
For a crewell oppressour is nothyng commendable.

*The furst Senatour.*

Whatsouer oppressor wyll be cruelle and not merye make  
Schal be sore fettered in a dongion full deip  
Wherin is todes and miteis w<sup>t</sup> many a gret snayk,  
That place is so dark you schall not se your fete.

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Therefore Crystmas myrth I wold ye schuld esteme,  
And to feare God and schewe y<sup>e</sup> deides of charyty boithe  
man and wyff,  
Orelles the people wyll assemble w<sup>t</sup> weapons scherpe and keene,  
Wherfore it wyll not prevaile to make any stryff.

*Thurd Senatour.*

Bycause that holye tyme all good people do prepare  
Aswell kynges and quenes that is of most noble byrthe,  
As also dukes, erles and lordes royally wyll faire,  
And spend the tyme of Crystmas w<sup>t</sup> joye and myrthe.'

We may hope that no individual possessed of ideas like those of Mr. Scrooge in his unregenerate days was living in Lincoln then, or he would have speedily made acquaintance with the toads, mice, and snakes!

The distinguishing mark of a Wait was a chain with a badge that is frequently alluded to in the city archives. Thus for example in 1514, in the inventory of effects delivered by the outgoing Mayor to his successor, are three collars of silver for the three Waits, of which one has twenty-four links with an escocheon, another twenty-eight links and a shield, and the third twenty-six links with a shield. In 1541 it is noted that to the chains was suspended a cross, which almost certainly refers to the St. George's Cross on the shield. By 1551 the three were reduced to two, who were to have their liveries (of red cloth, as we may gather from another entry) and to wear two silver collars. According to the custom they were to go from the Feast of All-Hallows to Candlemas, and from Michaelmas to the Annunciation by another account. In 1571 the old robes in which the officers cried Christmas withal were to be made into decent cloaks for the said officers to cry the same yearly withal hereafter. In 1590 the Waits had become restive and jealous, for at their suit it

was ordered that no musicians except the Waits do hereafter play at any marriages unless such musicians give to the Waits 2s. for every marriage they play at. In 1599 the Waits or musicians were to have 100s. yearly towards the increase of their wages, and also to have four coats yearly at Christmas over and besides the coats they had there now, and their chains and cognizances were to be repaired. In 1612 their numbers had risen to five, and in 1756 they were to combine Music and Morals (for which they were to get 42s. a year instead of 30s.), if they went the watch four nights in the week, from Michaelmas to Lady Day. In the description already given of the reception of the new charter in 1685, it will have been noticed that the Waits supplied the music playing in the procession before the Mayor. The Waits' chain and badge still in existence will be considered in the account of the Corporation's insignia at the end of this chapter.

The civic government, besides providing music for the people and, as has been seen, being keenly alive to the fiscal prospects of the city, had a watchful eye for most of the buying and selling which went on in Lincoln. Thus in 1440 we find minute directions for the barbers: they were to charge one farthing for shaving a poor person, and one halfpenny for a priest, and if they went to the houses of mayors, sheriffs, and other leading citizens, or to conventual houses, then according to agreement. Sunday shaving was forbidden. In 1515 the names are given of twenty 'typolers that fynd sewerty for gud abeyrynge acordyng to the Statute,' in four instances being bound for their wives. In 1566 the 'typolers' and their customers seem to have strained the patience of the Mayor and magistrates to the breaking point, for it was ordered as follows: 'For avoiding of many

Lincoln great hurts, hindrances, and enormities of late time crept into this city as well by evil rule in alehouses, being brewers, victualling-house keepers and tippling houses, as also by the continued and daily resort, long-being and continuing of divers and many workmen, craftsmen, and labourers in the same houses, there loitering and drinking of over strong and mighty ale, to the increase of idleness and drunkenness, it is ordered that the mayor and justices of the peace shall forthwith appoint of the best and most honest inhabitants, meet for the purpose, to be common brewers and tipplers, and such persons shall sell their ale or beer to the tipplers by dozens and half dozens to the tippler to be assigned, and not to sell any ale or beer in their houses; and every tippler that shall be assigned, to sell ale or beer by half-pennyworths or pennyworths or by pots out of the house, and none otherwise, and only at such prices as the mayor from time to time shall appoint.' In the next year it was added to these orders, 'that all brewers shall have small ale and single beer for poor people, and that all victuallers and tipplers shall spar in their doors' (shut up shop) 'at the time of divine service and sermon time'!

In 1584 all tradesmen were to have their shop-doors and windows closed all the day-time on Sundays, except they have need to open their shop-doors for their own passage in and out of their houses, upon pain of 3s. 4d., and except that it shall be lawful for every butcher upon any Sunday out of Lent, and every fishmonger on every Sunday in Lent from five o'clock A.M. until the market-bell ring, and from one to three if there be no sermon at that time, to keep open his shop-doors to sell victual, but at no other time in the day except to innholders upon strangers' sudden coming: and except also that any mercer,

draper, or other artificer may serve any stranger passing through the city as a stranger (*'bona-fide traveller'*) with any wares.

The watchful eye of the Corporation was turned *inwards*, at all events, once, for on June 18, 1584, Alderman Hodshone was to be disfranchised if within a month he did not so alter the course of his sinkers that no filth of his swine or other corruption shall come into the river or common stream ; and on July 30 there was a further order to Alderman Hodshone, beer-brewer, with regard to the filth of his brewing as well as of his swine.

An incident whose picturesqueness would require the pen of Stanley Weyman to do full justice to it, occurred on the 12th August 1522, when Randall Hamour was committed to prison with a pair of fetters on his legs for coming by night to a house with sword, buckler, and dagger, and keeping it suspiciously until the Mayor sent one of the sheriffs for him at eleven of the bell at night, and when brought before the Mayor he with seditious words called him 'false knave.' After ten days of fetters he was bailed.

The Corporation had to decide many things in the matter of prices : of cotton candles ( $1\frac{1}{4}$ d. the pound), wick candles (1d. the pound), in 1515 ; of the best wheat in 1525, 5s. a quarter ; and of Gascon wine in 1539, the best of which was £5 the cask. In 1519, by order of the Common Council, the coroners were to fix the price of meat, when a stone of beef was to be 6d., and no dearer.

In 1612, August 15, is a careful arrangement about gleanings. The husbandmen and farmers of the land in the fields of Lincoln having complained that they do in every harvest sustain great loss and damage by disordered gleaners, the following arrangement was

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Lincoln made between the Mayor and his brethren and the farmers on August 1 :

1. That no children, servants, or people of anyone who hath been chamberlain, or is cessed to the King's subsidy, be permitted to glean.
2. That no one come to glean but betwixt eight o'clock A.M. and five P.M.
3. That no one glean on any land before the corn be led from the same, nor upon any land where the corn is standing on either side, but shall begin at a furlong where the most corn is cut down, and take the same furlong before them.
4. That no one put any gleanings into sack, poke, or sheet, but make the same up into handfuls and bundles as hath been anciently done and used : and whosoever shall offend contrary to any of these articles shall not only have their gleanings taken from them, but also be imprisoned at the Mayor's pleasure.
5. Also, to the end that the poor may have and take the gleanings of the fields as fully as hath in ancient time been used, and as in charity, and by the ancient custom of this Christian kingdom, they ought to have, it is therefore expressly ordered and agreed, that no swine, sheep, or other cattle shall be put upon any land, or willingly permitted to come until the same be gleaned by the poor : and that every person willingly offending against the same shall not only have his sheep, swine, or cattle impounded, but shall also suffer imprisonment at the Mayor's pleasure.

The authorities of the city were surrounded by a number of powerful and influential neighbours, punctilious of their rights and privileges, and in some

cases not too respectful of those of the city. In Hilary term 1340, for instance, there was a law-suit at Westminster, from which it appears that one of the Abbots of Topholme (an abbey of which there are still some remains, about twelve miles from Lincoln, on the north bank of and near the Witham), had let to Hugh Makerel of Leadenham a certain tenement in Lincoln, to be held of that monastery by certain services which Hugh omitted performing, and thus broke the covenant of his lease of tenure; but as he refused to surrender, the case, either by him or the abbot, was taken to Westminster for decision, contrary to the customs and privileges of the city of Lincoln, whose bailiffs were sent to Westminster to complain of the violation. Their appeal was successful, the case was carried back to Lincoln, and letters-patent were obtained from King Edward III. to prevent any such occurrences in the future.

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Disputes about the exact boundaries of property frequently happened between the Corporation and the Prior and brethren of the neighbouring Priory of St. Katherine. And in 1445 each party having accused the other of illegal encroachment, a final concord was made by reciprocal agreement to submit to the awards of four of the chief citizens.

In 1263 Peter of Savoy claimed £500 damages from the city of Lincoln, because for twelve years market tolls had been exacted from the men of his Honour of Richmond, whereas all the men ought to have been exempt. The city replied that while King Henry I. held the city in his own hands he exacted the same tolls of every one, and that when he gave the citizens seisin of the city at the annual fee-farm rent of £180 he gave it with all the rights and privileges then used. The complainant answered that the right of taking tolls of his men could not

Lincoln have been among the rights thus conveyed, because the Honour of Richmond had been free from the time of the Conquest. Finally, the parties agreed that the men of Richmond should be free of toll for all things born, fed, or grown within the limits of the Honour, but should pay the same toll as others for anything they may bring not thus exempted. From this record we find the customary tolls levied at Lincoln to have been as follows: for every horse bought or sold one penny, for every ox one halfpenny, for every cart twopence, for a ship fourpence, for twenty-four two-year-old sheep one penny, and for every quarter of corn one penny. Disputes are also recorded between John of Gaunt and the city with regard to the privileges of the castle and bailey, in the time of King Richard II., and a writ from King Edward III. for exemption of all the lands and men of Henry Plantagenet, Earl of Lancaster, from the tolls just narrated.

Another near neighbour was the Lord of the Manor of Beaumont, which was situated just inside the south-west corner of the city, east of the city wall in St. Martin's parish. Various street names (such as Beaumont Fee) and that of the principal house (Beaumont Manor) testify to its existence. In the City Records is a note on one Paul Brandys (sad to relate, a surgeon), a prisoner for debt who had escaped into the privileged place of Beaumont's rents. In the charter of King Henry IV. (1409) mention is made of this manor: 'Saving also to Henry de Beaumont and his heirs all the liberties and franchises within the city of Lincoln and precincts pertaining to his Manor there entire as they had aforetime always been.' And in the charter of King Charles II. special reservation is made of all manner of liberties, privileges, and customs whatever to the

Bishop of Lincoln, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, and to the Lord of the liberties of Beaumont Fee. It was a manor belonging to the family of Beaumont from the time of King Edward III. in right of Isabel, widow of John, Lord Vesci of Alnwick, and sister of Henry de Beaumont, whence the mansion-house had the name of Vesci Hall. It came afterwards to the Norfolk family, and has been sold frequently since. It was exempt from the city's jurisdiction, and the bailiff was called at the Assizes next after the sheriffs of the city.

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Even the protection of the King did not always serve to help the Lincoln citizens, as the following anecdote will testify: Ralph Morewood, bailiff to William de Kyme, a rich and powerful man who lived in *Thornbriggate* (at the bottom of Broadgate), in Lincoln, forcibly took a quantity of goods out of a boat on the Witham belonging to Alfred of Howel, which the owner was compelled to repurchase by the payment of a large fine. And Stephen de Hastings, his seneschal, acting under the authority of his master, took possession of Dockdyke haven, and imposed an illegal toll on all ships and vessels belonging to the merchants of Lincoln passing and repassing to the port of Boston. The citizens of Lincoln sent down agents for the protection of their rights; but Ralph de Morewood, with a posse of followers, drove them off by violence, and sent them home to report the ill success of their mission to their brethren. And though the citizens subsequently called in the aid of the King's bailiffs, it was all to no purpose; for the Kyme party proved the most powerful, and retained possession of the disputed point.

Early in the reign of King Edward I. the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln had a spacious dock with warehouses and yards containing two acres of land,



Lincoln on the banks of the Witham, near Sheepwash Grange, where the ships of the Lincoln merchants loaded and discharged their cargoes. At a court of inquiry held in Lincoln before two of the King's Justices in the fifth year of that reign (1277), the Mayor complained that the Abbot of Kirkstead had forcibly seized and retained possession of this dock and its appurtenances, under a pretended claim in right of his proprietorship of Sheepwash Grange, which he said extended to the waters of the Witham, and the citizens had to pay him an annual toll of half a mark. This impost—an acknowledgment of the Abbot's rights—enabled him to collect all the tolls and dues from all kinds of goods at this haven. The citizens complained that they were obliged to submit to the imposition, although their charters exempted them from all tolls, rather than incur the inconveniences of abandoning the station. Being in disgrace with the Crown, the latter were obliged to purchase their peace by a price of 1000 marks. They also complained of the Abbot's using these docks and warehouses for smuggling, of his buying wool and secreting it at Sheepwash Grange, and selling it in the fairs and markets by sample to the Flemish and Florentine merchants, who shipped it off in armed vessels, which returned later with manufactured goods, which were disposed of privately, and thus the Mayor of the Staple was deprived of the tonnage due to the Crown and the citizens of their accustomed tolls. They estimated their annual loss alone, if the account of the Hundred Rolls be correct, at the enormous sum of 100 marks, equal to some £2000 a year of our money. (*Lincolnshire Monasteries*, Oliver, pp. 92-96.)

A very near neighbour was the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and a testimony to the sometime strained relations between the Corporation and the Close is

afforded by an 'Inspeximus' by King Richard II. of an indenture extant between the Dean and Chapter and the Mayor and citizens, upon a decree and award made by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, as to the exemption of the Cathedral Close from all civic jurisdiction, and of a release made hereupon by the city. These two deeds were both dated the 12th of June 1390. In 1704 a copy was made of the case of the Dean and Chapter against the city with regard to arrests within the Close, and the licensing of ale-houses.

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On the strength of some loosely drawn charters (previous apparently to that of King Henry IV.) the city claimed jurisdiction over offences committed in the Cathedral on the ground that it had not been expressly exempted, with the Castle, Bail, and Close. A curious example of this claim, and at the same time a most disgraceful outrage in the Minster, is the following from the Westminster plea-rolls for Hilary term 1436; when it is stated that 'Thomas Cokayne, capellanus, Nicholaus Bradborne, gentelman, Thomas Atkyn, notary, Laurencius Marsshall, yoman, Petrus Marshall, yoman, Ricardus Knyght, yoman, Ricardus Ireton, grome, et John Bosse, clerke,' servants of John Makeworthe (Mackworth), Dean of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary of Lincoln, with many others unknown, riotously collected together, and arrayed for war by the command, consent, and precept of the Dean himself on the 28th day of June in the thirteenth year (of King Henry VI., *i.e.* 1435), made an attack with force and arms on Peter Partryche, chancellor of the same church (he attended the Council of Basle with Precentor Burton in 1431), in the quire of the said church at the hour of Vespers then and there being engaged in divine service at Lincoln, and

Lincoln treated him sadly to the frightening of the aforesaid Peter and of all ministering in divine worship then and there, so that he was despairing of his life, and they dragged in a violent manner Peter himself from his stall in the aforesaid quire and altogether tore and burst his dress. This riot is also mentioned in the *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes* (Part II. p. clxxxviii). The offenders with the Dean were called upon to answer for this outrage, but they protested against the presentment on certain flaws and mis-statements contained in the indictment; as that one of the party, whose name was John Boss, had been entered as John Boys, and moreover, that the offence was asserted to have been committed in the County of Lincoln, which was not the case, as could be proved by the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln, whose charter, though it exempted the Castle and Bail, yet in such exception it made no mention of the Cathedral, which therefore came within the jurisdiction of the County of the City of Lincoln and not within that of the County of Lincoln. The case was dismissed on technical grounds, and the rest of the discussion does not seem to have been recorded.

Sport also does not seem to have been overlooked, for on the 26th March 1550 it was ordered that no person within the city, suburbs, or liberties keep any greyhounds or hounds to hunt withal, except the Mayor, the aldermen, and such as are or have been sheriffs, and these only to hunt by their own persons and not to send the hounds to any other.

In the course of its history the city had been granted quite a respectable number of Fairs. Thus, King Edward III. in 1327 gave a yearly fair to extend from the feast of St. Botolph (June 17) to that of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29). King Henry IV. granted a yearly fair beginning fifteen days

before the feast of the deposition of St. Hugh (November 17), and continuing for fifteen days afterwards. By letters-patent of King Richard III. an additional fair was granted, to begin on the Monday next after Quadragesima Sunday, and to continue for the following fourteen days, and that the Mayor, Commonalty, and citizens should have the power of holding within the said fair, as custom was, a Court of Pie Poudre. (This was a court of summary jurisdiction, so called from *Pied poudre*—dusty foot, *i.e.* not waiting to dust the boots or shoes. Butler in *Hudibras* says:

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‘Have its proceedings disallowed or  
Allowed, at fancy of pie-powder’).

King Charles II. in 1684 granted a fair, to be kept within the city every year, to begin on the second Tuesday in the month of April, and to last four days, the first three of which were exclusively for the sale of horses, and the last for buying and selling not only sheep and cattle, but of all other merchandise whatever: he also gave the right to hold a weekly market every Tuesday for fish, fowls, eggs, butter, cheese, pork, rabbits and herbs. And in 1696 King William III. gave permission for the holding of a horse and cattle fair yearly on the first Wednesday in September and the two days following.

The existing fairs are as follows: the great one in the last whole week in April—the first three days for horses, Thursday for sheep, and Friday for cattle; a midsummer fair for cattle on July 3rd; cattle, horse, and sheep fair on the Friday after September 12th; and a new fair for horses, beasts, and sheep on the third Friday in October. There is also a fair in November on the third Friday.

Several attempts—none of them, it is to be feared, very successful—were made by the civic authorities to



Lincoln encourage spinning and knitting schools, which did not seem to acclimatise themselves in the city. In 1516 a skilful clothworker was induced to come to Lincoln to teach the art, and various citizens were to supply him with wool, and clothmakers of all descriptions were promised their freedom of the city, so long as they remained in it. But the destiny of Leeds and Bradford was not for Lincoln. In 1558 (after a discussion of the whole subject by a large gathering of the citizens at a Common Council in 1550) it was found that, instead of the thirty broad cloths which the projectors had felt confident of being able to turn out yearly, few or none had been made. It has already been mentioned, in the account of the Grey Friars, that an attempt had been made in 1684 to start and encourage a school there for knitting and spinning among the poorer citizens, and a skilful stockinger and knitter had come over to Lincoln to teach; but the destiny of Leicester was not that of Lincoln, and little good seems to have accrued to the city from the well-meant effort. Curiously enough, no mention of 'Lincoln Green' appears in the City Records.

At the end of the eighteenth century (1787) an annual county ball was established for the encouragement of native woollen manufacture. For the first two years it was held at Alford, ever since it has been held at Lincoln. From its origin it is often called the 'Stuff Ball.' The ladies used to wear stuff gowns and the gentlemen stuff coats, waistcoats, and breeches, according to the late Sir Charles Anderson. He adds that 'stuff was little worn after 1820.' It was also, from the custom of the lady patroness choosing the colour or colours of the ball, called the 'Colour Ball.'

In 1669 was ordered a coinage of Lincoln city halfpennies in order to prevent much trouble from

private tokens, as is set forth in the notice : 'Whereas by the multiplicity of halfpennies and farthings of many stamps uttered, paid out, and spread abroad several particular tradesmen and private persons within the city (for private profit and gain) the citizens and inhabitants are at much loss and trouble by their receiving halfpence and farthings of so many different stamps that they cannot without much trouble distinguish the owners,' etc. And so 'one fair and large halfpenny of good yellow brass' was ordered 'to be made and stamped at the public charge of this City, with the City arms on one side thereof and these words on the other side thereof, *Lincoln Citty halfpenny, Changed by the Maior.*' Twenty pounds worth were ordered in May and again in July : later in the same month, £5 worth of farthings of yellow brass were to be procured and stamped with the city arms on one side and these words on the other side, *Lincolne Citty farthing.* Five pounds more of farthings and fifteen pounds worth more of halfpennies were to be got by November in the same year.

The names 'Mint-wall,' 'Mint Lane,' bear evidence that there was once a mint at Lincoln. And the evidence of coins is available to prove that there certainly was a mint here in the days of King Alfred the Great. Also after King Edwig, coins still exist of all the succeeding monarchs (up to the Conquest). In the Bergen Museum and in the author's possession are coins of King Canute struck at Lincoln. And when Domesday Book was compiled the city paid £100 and the mint £75 (a larger sum than was paid by any other mint) to the King and Earl. 'After the Conquest,' says Mr. Hawkins, 'we find that the Lincoln Mint continued in operation, from coins still existing of Kings William the First and Second, Stephen, and Henry the Second. Of the reigns of

Lincoln Kings Richard the First and John we have no remaining coins whatever, but we have records which prove that the Mint establishment was still maintained; for King Richard the First at the commencement of his reign granted certain privileges to the citizens of Lincoln, from which the King's officers and moneyers were excluded. King John, in the ninth year of his reign, commanded the moneyers and officers of certain specified cities, of which Lincoln was one, to seal up their dies with their own seals and to appear at Westminster within fifteen days of the morrow of St. Denys to receive the King's commands. Money still exists of this Mint struck by King Henry the Third; . . . King Edward the First struck coins at Lincoln, but later than this reign, we have not any certain evidence of the existence of a Mint at Lincoln.' (Archæological Institute, Lincoln volume, pp. 56-57.)

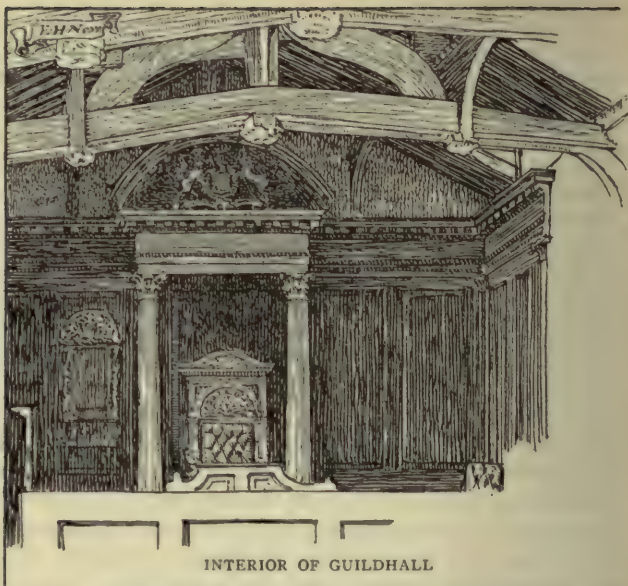
Lincoln was also one of the provincial assay towns, as we learn from a statute of the year 1423 (the second year of King Henry vi.), whereby it was ordained that the cities of York, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Lincoln, Norwich, Bristol, Salisbury, and Coventry should have divers 'touches,' *i.e.* marks, and further that no goldsmith anywhere should work silver of worse alloy than the sterling, and should put his mark upon it before he set it to sale, upon the same penalties as if in London; but no city mark is known which can be appropriated to Lincoln. 'A mark indeed which is usually found alone, and therefore is only a maker's mark,' says Mr. Cripps, 'occurs on a number of Elizabethan Communion Cups in Lincolnshire, and may pretty safely be assigned to a Lincoln craftsman. It is on a specimen of 1569 at Osbournby, and of 1570 at Aubourn and Upton-cum-Kexby, besides being on an undated piece at Haxey, Boultham, Scotton, Lea near Gainsborough, Heapham, and

Thimbleby.' To these the present author has been able to add the names of Marsh Chapel, where the paten fitting as a cover to the cup (which has the peculiar mark) is dated on the foot 1569; the same occurs at North Cockerington, and the Communion Cup at Legbourne and a chalice at Haverholme Priory have likewise the same mark. It consists of a capital I over a capital M enclosed in a florid type of shield which was in use in the sixteenth century.

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An early notice of the 'Guildhall' or meeting-place of the citizens is contained in the charter of King Henry III., 'aula placitorum civitatis ejusdemque Gyldehalle vocitatur,' in 1272. The existing Guildhall—the rooms over the Stonebow—is, of course, of much later date. The gateway is a very fine example of a fifteenth-century city gate. It has a central arch over the roadway, flanked with turrets and side-arches, the second one on the west having been made when the Stonebow was carefully restored and repaired a few years ago by the late J. Pearson, R.A. The eastern arch was opened out for passengers, 'as that on the west side now is' in 1758. The upper story has had Perpendicular tracery, which has disappeared; that now existing is modern, and the parapet is embattled. Over the central arch are the royal arms, and under canopies on the south face of the turrets are statues of the Virgin Mary crowned and treading on the serpent, on the western side, and of the Angel Gabriel on the eastern one, bearing a palm branch with a scroll on which is the inscription, 'Ave grā plena Dñs tecum.' On the north face of the arch are the red rose and the fleur-de-lys, both crowned. Over the archway is the large room—the Guildhall—and a smaller room to the west of it. In this latter—the inner chamber—were held the secret councils of the Corporation, of which several notices are to be





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found in their records in the sixteenth century. On the 23rd of April 1520 an agreement was made with William Spencer, freemason, and his fellows for the building of the Guildhall, which most probably refers to the existing suite of rooms, with the massive and stately oak staircase adjoining, the entrance to which is in Saltergate. In 1691, on February 28, the inner chamber adjoining the Guildhall is ordered to be handsomely ceiled with Norway oak for £40. The Guildhall is a fine and interesting room, partly panelled, and with newly arranged seats for the Council and a new chair for the Mayor. It has an open timber roof, of kingpost pattern, with carved bosses and embattled purlins.

There are a number of portraits hung on the wall,

of which the following is a complete list. Queen Anne, painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, and presented to the city by John Sibthorp, M.P., 1713; King William III., King George I., King George II. and his Queen, Caroline of Anspach, painted by Charles Jarvis (the City Records say, May 9, 1730, that the pictures of the present king and his queen, Caroline, were to be bought at the charge of the city and set up in the inner hall); their son Frederick, Prince of Wales, and Augusta, Princess of Wales; King George III., for which, on December 12, 1781, the thanks of the city were ordered to be given to Governor Pownall for presenting the city with his Majesty's picture in a handsome gilt frame; Queen Victoria, painted by Bentley, purchased as a Jubilee memorial by public subscription; a portrait of Sir Thomas White, alderman of London, who died in 1566; and of the well-known Thomas Sutton of Knaith, founder of the Charterhouse, with the civic coat-of-arms on the dexter side and his own (*or*, a chevron between three annulets *gules*, as many cressants *argent*) on the sinister side. Both these last were presented by Edward Blawe, Mayor of the city in 1621. There are three large chests, two round-topped, extensively banded and plated with iron, and with several locks; and a third, flat and square, all of iron, with an ingenious arrangement whereby one lock shuts several bolts at once, somewhat on the same principle as the bolts in a modern safe are all shot by one turn of the handle. An iron chest within the Council Chamber is recorded to have been bought for 20s. in the mayoralty of Richard Carter, 1564. These were evidently for the safe keeping of the city charters, records, etc., and are frequently mentioned in those records (*e.g.* on November 7, 1668, when the charter of King Henry IV. was that day delivered

Lincoln into the iron trunk, and the charter of King Henry VIII.). The 'Mote' Bell dates from 1371.

The insignia are fine and interesting. No actual grant of the privilege of having a mace carried before the Mayor seems to be extant, but evidently it was exercised as early as 1422, from the rules already quoted as to the Mayor's servants, which included a mace-bearer. Also in the charter of King Charles I. it is expressly said: 'We further will, and by these presents for Us, our Heirs and Successors do grant to the aforesaid Mayor, Sheriffs, Citizens and Commonalty of the City of Lincoln aforesaid that they and their Successors for ever may and shall have within the City aforesaid one Sword-bearer, one Mace-bearer,' etc., which recognised and confirmed the use and privilege.

There are two maces belonging to the Mayor and Corporation of Lincoln. Of these, the larger one is silver-gilt, 50 inches in length, and it weighs 137 oz. troy. Its base consists of a double foot knop, with the city shield of arms engraved on the upper part of it. The shaft is divided into three unequal lengths by two massive gadrooned bands, and is elegantly and richly chased with roses, thistles, and flowers intertwined. The bowl is supported by three S-shaped scroll brackets. It is divided by four nude female murally crowned demi-figures, ending in drapery and grotesque masks, into four compartments. Each compartment contains either a rose, a thistle, a harp, or a fleur-de-lys, between the initials C. R. surmounted by a crown. A maker's mark, like two capital M's, one being reversed, may be seen in one of these compartments. Cripps gives this mark as on Hanbury's cup belonging to the Goldsmiths Company, and of the date 1665; and in the City Records for August 5, 1661, it was agreed that two maces shall be altered, and that the King's arms, crown, and cross shall be

set upon the great mace, and that the small mace shall have the King's arms set upon it. On a raised disc on the top of the bowl are consequently engraved the royal arms of King Charles II., viz. quarterly, first and fourth France and England, quarterly, second Scotland, third Ireland. The shield is surrounded by the Garter flanked by the royal heraldic supporters, and over all is a crown between the initials C II R, the motto *Dieu et mon Droit* being below the shield. The bowl is crested with a circlet of crosses pattées and fleur-de-lys, from which arise two crossed arches supporting the orb and cross. Possibly the then existing mace was sent up to London, at the time of the Commonwealth, to be altered into the shape of the mace made for the House of Commons, and then realtered, as has just been stated, after the Restoration. The small mace is of silver,  $19\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, and weighs 38 oz. 8 dwts. The foot is composed of a round knop, with a moulded band encircling it; the shaft plain, with a band round it, dividing it into two parts. The semi-globular head is supported by three S-shaped brackets, and is divided by moulded bands into three panels, of which one contains a shield of the city arms, another a shield with St. George's Cross on it, and a third a shield with the Irish harp. On the top of the head, which has a cresting of crosses pattées and fleur-de-lys, is a raised disc, encircled by a coronet of fleur-de-lys, containing the coat-of-arms of King Charles II., as before described. There are no hall marks or maker's marks on it. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope considers it to be of the date 1650 or thereabouts, but from the City Records it is evident that there must have been a small mace in 1604 and 1619, as the 'great' mace is alluded to in both years. There is also a small plain staff of office,  $28\frac{1}{2}$  inches in

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Lincoln length, made of Brazil wood (not unlike mahogany in colour and grain), which gave the name to the country Brazil, tipped at one end with a silver cap with the city arms thereon, and at the other those of the see of Lincoln (*gules* two lions passant-guardant or on a chief *azure*, the Virgin and Child seated or). It is mentioned in the City Records, in the inventory of plate handed over to the incoming Mayor in 1587, and most probably commemorated the mayoralty of some one who was at the same time an officer of the Bishop of Lincoln or of the Dean and Chapter.

The Mayor has also a large plain gold thumb-ring, with an inscription on the inside, 'omnis caro fenum es'—all flesh (is) grass—'es' representing probably the initials of the donor. This ring is exceedingly popular with all the school-children of Lincoln, for its appearance in any school in the city means by ancient custom that a holiday is due. It was given to the city by Edward Sapcote (probably by will or direction from his father, Henry Sapcote, who had been an alderman and twice Mayor of Lincoln, in 1533 and 1544), and in the City Records it is stated, 29th September 1580, that 'Mr. Henry Sapcote' (son of Edward and executor under his will) 'esquyre delivered, a great hope or ryng of gold to Mr. Mayson being maior.' Again the inventory of plate in 1581 included 'one hoope of golde,' and in the inventory for 1587 the ring is described as 'one hoope of gould given by Mr. Sapcote.' In 1747 the Mayor's house was broken into and £200 worth of articles stolen, of which the ring was one. It was subsequently sold in London by a party who had committed a murder. It was traced, led to the detection and execution of the murderer, and was eventually restored to the Corporation. There are two hats or caps—one for the sword-bearer, with broad brim and lofty crown and tassels

(a 'newe hatte for the sworde bearer' was noted in 1595), and one cap of maintenance of fifteenth-century date and style, of red velvet, embroidered in silver with the Tudor rose, and cord and tassels. Such red hats or caps were sometimes sent from the Pope, and the arrangement of cords and tassels closely resembles that of a cardinal's hat. The existing hat probably is that given by Mr. Henry Stone of Skellingthorpe (to replace an older one?), of London make, costing nearly £20, in 1685.

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Lincoln can boast with pride of being the possessor of three civic Swords of State, only two other cities possessing more, *i.e.* London and Bristol, which each have four. As in the case of the mace, no actual gift of the right to have a sword borne in procession before the Mayor is known, but the charter of King Charles I. confirms the prescriptive usage.

The oldest of the three is that generally called the Richard II. Sword, and that king, as mentioned above, visited the city in 1387, and is believed to have presented it with his own personal sword. The cross-guard of the hilt is straight, with the ends of the quillons slightly curved: on the guard towards the blade is engraved in sixteenth-century characters, JHESUS EST AMOR MEUS. A DEO ET REGE, which were probably inscribed in 1595. The pommel is a hollow iron disc two inches thick, and covered with silver gilt. It is of wheel pattern, flat and circular, with a circular raised centre on each side supported by a hollow groove engraved with pointed rays. On each of the discs is the royal coat-of-arms used by King Richard I. in the early part of his reign encircled by ostrich plumes, adopted by him as one of his badges, and the broad rim of the wheel is decorated with fleur-de-lys and roses alternately. The pommel has been wrongly put on: it should

Lincoln show the base of the shields towards the quillons. The blade is 3 feet  $5\frac{3}{8}$  inches long, and from the markings (an encircled Greek cross ending in four crescents, a portion of the wolf mark, the forepart of some animal, and a crook or part of a badly formed R), appears to be of the fourteenth century. It was in the hilt of the third sword to be described till recently, but owing to the care and acuteness of Colonel J. G. Williams it has been restored to its own proper hilt and dignified by a new scabbard, which bears the arms of King Richard II. on one side, with repetition of his badge, the white hart and plantagenista, on the chape; on the other are the arms of King Edward VII.: Mr. W. H. St. John Hope having most carefully supervised its design and execution.

The 'Lent' or 'Mourning' Sword, which has been an actual fighting weapon, and is referred to in the City Records as 'the Second Sword,' is, according to Mr. St. John Hope, 'a fine ancient example of fifteenth-century date, and complete with its original blade, which is seemingly of English manufacture.' The blade, which is 2 feet  $11\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, is two-edged and perfectly plain, being devoid of grooves and armourer's mark. The hilt is 9 inches long, and ends in a pear-shaped pommel, having eight faces covered with a foliated and gilded design. The quillons of the cross-guard are curved with rounded and bent ends, and damascened with a gilded scroll pattern. Both pommel and guard were, until a few years ago, blackened over with varnish, so no doubt to make the sword more fit for its duty, *i.e.* to be carried before the Mayor in Lent, or at a funeral. The scabbard is of black velvet, embroidered with crowns, roses, fleurs-de-lys, and the initial letters C.L. From the description given of the decorations

ordered for the 'newe scabot of the Second Sworde,' *i.e.* 'greyhounds, lyons, and dragons of sylver guylt,' in 1544 (November 25), all three being badges of King Henry VII., of him alone, though his son used the greyhound for six or seven years; and from the fact already mentioned that that King visited Lincoln twice—the second time after his victory at Stoke over Lambert Simnel and the Earl of Lincoln—Colonel Williams has suggested the very probable theory that King Henry VII. gave this sword to the city, in memory whereof the scabbard was adorned with his badges, and that it is quite possible this was the Earl of Lincoln's own sword taken on the battlefield.

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The third sword—the State Sword—has a hilt of silver gilt, and the quillons bear the London hall mark for the year 1734-45, *i.e.* T and the maker's mark N.Y., with a pellet over. The pommel is a large oval engraved on one side thus: 'THE CITY OF LINCOLN, John Kent, Mayor, 1734.' On the cross-guards are the same mottoes as on the Richard II. sword, *i.e.* 'JHESUS EST AMOR MEUS,' and 'A DEO ET REGE.' The blade was formerly the ancient one now restored to the Richard II. sword, and its place has been taken by an oldish blade, so that it is once more complete. We know that in 1676 there were three swords in the inventory given to the incoming Mayor, and that in 1734 there was 'Paid for a new Hatt, a *new Sword*, a mace gilding, £54, 4s. Paid for mending the Mourning Sword, 6d.,' therefore there should have been four swords; so that what happened in the latter year probably was that the blade was taken out of the Richard sword, and fixed in the new 1734 hilt, while the 1676 sword was broken up, and its blade fixed in the Richard sword-hilt, for that blade is considered to be of Solingen make, with the



Lincoln armourer's mark, a wolf and the orb and cross, and it is probably of early seventeenth-century date, *i.e.* about 1600 (see also p. 138).

These suggestions are due entirely, as indicated above, to Colonel J. G. Williams who, in his mayoralty and since, has devoted a great deal of time, attention, and thought to these swords with the most satisfactory results.

The Waits' chain and badge has forty-one links of silver, and has suspended from it a large badge with the royal arms of Queen Anne (quarterly one and four England impaling Scotland, two France modern, three Ireland), and 'Vivat Regina' on one side; on the other are the city arms, and the name of 'John Garnon, Mayor Civit. Lincoln, 1710.'

The earliest mention of the City Arms is in the civic records for August 9, 1449, when it was unanimously resolved that a new Common Seal for the sealing of divers charters, writings, indentures, and relaxations, etc., should be made, stamped with the representation of a castle with five towers and a gate, and to have a shield of arms of the city of Lincoln, and on each side of the castle 'one Flourde-lyssh' with a writing about the 'girum' (border?) and 'Sigillum Coe Civitatis Lincoln.'

The shield of the city arms is an admirably simple and effective one, *i.e.* the St. George's Cross with a gold fleur-de-lys in the middle of it; heraldically speaking, it should be described as *argent* on a cross *gules* a fleur-de-lys *or*. The lily evidently refers, as Mr. St. John Hope says, to the Blessed Virgin Mary, in whose honour the Cathedral Church of Lincoln is dedicated. He also considers that the shield is probably much older than the date of the seal. Another seal was ordered to be made in 1655 to make the like impression to the old seal, and that the

inscription in the outermost circle be 'The Common Seale of the City of Lincolne.'

A Mayor's seal of thirteenth-century date is in the British Museum. Of this Colonel Williams was able to get an impression, and the Corporation have authorised it to be used by the Mayor during his term of office. This emphasises still more the association of the Virgin Mary with the city, as she is represented standing crowned, with the Holy Child on her left arm, holding a ball in her right hand under a canopy consisting of a trefoiled crocketed arch; on each side is a lion rampant. Round the seal is the inscription, 'SIGIL MAIORITATIS LINCOLNIE.'

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The inventories of Civic Plate, delivered by the outgoing Mayor to the incoming one, form tempting reading, but, unfortunately, have no reference to any existing in the Corporation keeping at the present day, when one loving-cup alone—a modern gift—graces their plate-chest. Of the 'three standing cups, whereof one with a fair cover, and three goblets, whereof one with a cover which cost £40, 5s.' in 1564, one can only fancy the sensation which their appearance at Christie's would cause. As late as 1656 the inventory comprises one ewer, 'Mr. Denny's,' two bowls, one tun, one salt, one tankard, one goblet of the old fashion, three beer bowls, one case of knives, 'all the other plate wanting.'

In 1836 all the Corporation plate was sold, consisting of a large two-handled vase cup holding nearly a gallon, a massive salver with feet and gadrooned edge, an antique tankard with cover, coffee- and tea-pots and forks and spoons, etc., for £240.

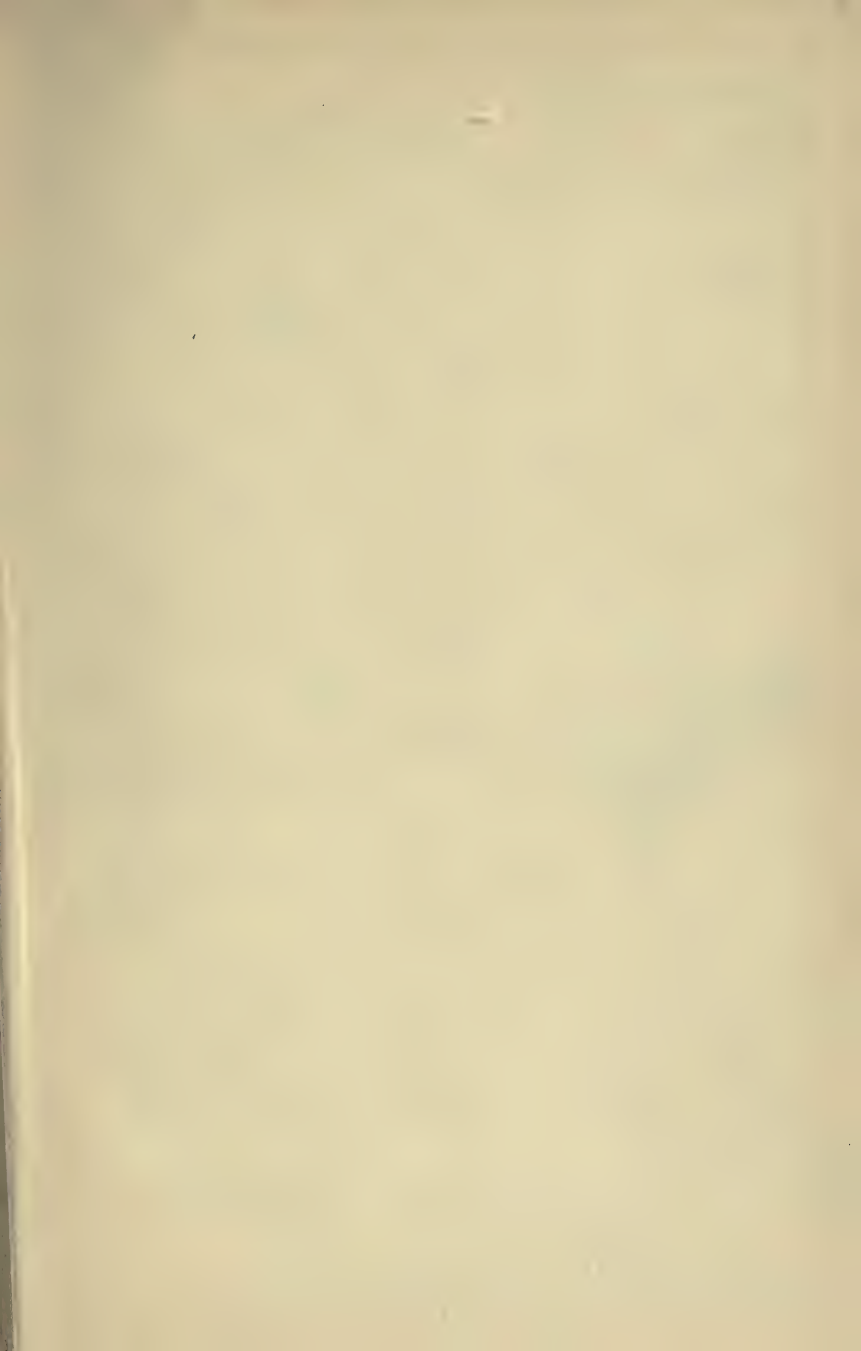
Fortunately the insignia were not allowed to be sold, and, we may hope, never may be.

There is a handsome modern gold chain and badge for the Mayor, who is styled 'Right Worship-

Lincoln ful' (as he has been for some centuries), and another for the Sheriff. The present Corporation consists of the Mayor, six Aldermen, and eighteen Councillors.



WHITEFRIARS





# REFERENCES

Castle  
1 Keep

2 Sally Port

3 Cobb Hall

4 Gate

Churches

A S Paul's

B S Michael

on-the-Mount

C S Mary Mag<sup>n</sup>

a Exchequer Gate

b Aaron-the-Jew's  
House

c Jew's House

.... 1<sup>st</sup> Roman City

--- 2<sup>nd</sup> "

-|-| Close Wall

Roman Fosse

N  
Ermine

Newport Arch

Site of  
R<sup>n</sup> Basilica

Castle

Deanery

Cathedral

Bishop's  
Palace

Bishop's  
Hostel

Plan  
tin's

Old  
Bull  
Ring

Grey  
Inns

High  
Street

Stonebow  
& Guildhall

St  
Benedict's

S Mary  
le Wigford

G.N.Rly Sta<sup>n</sup>

M.Rly Sta

S Mary's Guild

S Peter's  
at-Gowls

S Peter in  
Et gate

Close  
Wall

Chancery

Potters  
Arch

Vicar's  
Court

St Mary's  
Read

To Monks Abbey

Site of Clasket Gate

Broad  
gate

Swithin's  
Church

River Witham

Sincil Dyke



The City of  
Lincoln

## APPENDIX

### ITINERARY

FROM either of the two railway stations (which are within six or seven minutes' walk of each other), Midland and Great Northern, a few steps take the visitor into the High Street. From the latter (G.N.R.) *St. Mary-le-Wigford's Church* (p. 331) and the *Conduit* (p. 332), are passed on the left-hand side. Proceeding northwards up the High Street, the old Corn Exchange is on the right, numerous banks testify to the commercial importance of the city, and the venerable fragment of a church—*St. Benedict's* (p. 334)—is seen in the picturesque little square on the left. (Here is the terminus for the electric tram-cars, which run to and from Bracebridge, a distance of about two miles.) Next comes the *High Bridge*, with the obelisk on the east side (p. 387). The steps, north or south on the left-hand side, should be descended to get a very quaint view of the bridge and of the houses on it, which have been recently restored. The *Stonebow*, which is also the *Guildhall* (p. 425), stretches across the upper end of the street, the street on the left (Guildhall Street) leading past the General Post Office (a new building, greatly wanted, and a distinct architectural improvement to the street), the Masonic Hall (now a place for variety entertainments), Newland, to the Carholme or Racecourse. The street on the right, Saltergate, the first part of which used to be called Tolbooth Lane,

Lincoln leads to St. Swithin's and Broadgate. Passing through the Stonebow the typical 'city' church of *St. Peter-at-Arches* (p. 336) appears on the right. At this point those who drive uphill part company with those who walk, and turn to the right along Silver Street.

Just north of the church is the Butter Market, and the Public Library over it. The whole façade should be noticed, as one of the most satisfactory pieces of artistic architecture in Lincoln.

At the top of the High Street, on the right, is the old timbered house, '*The Cardinal's Cap*,' the residence of the Grantham family (p. 325), and *St. Martin's Tower* is seen on the westwards. The narrow entrance through *Dernestall Lock* (p. 87) into the street which is called *Strait* leads to the wider space where used to be the bull-baiting (p. 88), and on the left the first *Jew's House* (p. 88), and the *Jew's Court*. Proceeding up the Steep Hill, passing the Mayor's Chair, or rather the railings by which it used to be, and a half-timbered Inn—the Harlequin—on the left, and in front is the second *Jew's (Aaron's) House* (p. 89), on the right is the Church House in the old *Christ's Hospital Buildings* (p. 149), and on the left the old County Hospital, now transformed into a Theological College, the '*Scholae Cancellarii*,' or Bishop's Hostel. The posts with the city arms on them note the *South Bail Gate* (p. 382), limiting the city authority in this direction. The remains of the *Roman South Gate* (p. 27) will be noticed. Turning to the right the *Exchequer Gate* (p. 304) comes into view, with the Minster rising grandly behind it.

The little church opposite is *St. Mary Magdalene's* (p. 328). When through the Exchequer Gate the *Precentory* (p. 310) is on the right hand, and the *Subdeanery* (p. 310) on the same side, a little further eastwards. The walk round the *Minster* (p. 281) should be taken either before or after seeing the interior, which is fully described in Chapters v., vi., and vii. Retracing our route, through the Exchequer Gate to Castle Square, the *Castle* should be visited (Chapter xi.). Proceeding

from Castle Hill into Bailgate, in the roadway will be seen the marks of several pillars of the *Roman Colonnade* (p. 30), and in Mr. Allis's cellar (to whom Lincoln is much indebted) can be seen the actual bases and some of the pillars *in situ*, as well as many relics of the Roman occupation of the city. The little brick and stone church on the left is *St. Paul's* (p. 324). *Newport Arch* (p. 23) has been confronting the visitor for some time. It should be passed through, and a glimpse gained of the Roman bank and ditch on the west and east of the gateway. Going back into Bailgate through the arch, the visitor should turn to the left along *East Bight* and see the fragment of Roman Wall in the field on the north of it. The *Close Wall* (p. 301) runs along on the right-hand side of the lane as far as Eastgate. Crossing over the junction with Northgate and *Priory Gate* (p. 307), and walking due east, the tower on the wall should be noticed in the *Priory House* (p. 308) on the right, and on the left is *St. Peter's in Eastgate* (p. 335). At the old site of *Eastgate Pump* (p. 308) the street divides into two, Langworth Gate on the north leading past the *Hospital of St. Giles* (p. 341), and the site for the New Grammar School, to Bunker's Hill, Langworth, and Wragby. The southern road, Greetwell Gate, leads past the prison to Greetwell (two miles away), which has a Saxon church. Turning out of Eastgate into *Winnowsty Lane*, a tower in the Close Wall (illustrated by Mr. New, p. 309) will be seen. Past this, the road to the right (the Wragby Road) will bring the visitor to *Pottergate Arch* (p. 304). Hence the broad road leading downwards turns to the right into Lindum Road, which for very many years was popularly called 'The New Road,' although it was opened in the eighteenth century (the name has now been transferred to the Yarborough Road, which winds gradually up the western hill from Newland to the Burton and Riseholme Roads). The turn to the left goes to Lindum Terrace (a good view can be got of the course of the river south-eastwards, Canwick opposite, and the city as far as Brace-



Lincoln bridge, St. Anne's Bede-houses, and the County Hospital). From the terrace is one entrance to the Public Park or Arboretum. Through this, and along Monks Road, a few minutes' walk past All Saints Church will bring the visitor to *Monks Abbey* (p. 363). Returning to Pottergate Arch, and passing through it, a picturesque oriel will be noted in a house on the right, once part of that wherein King William III. was entertained (p. 315), and the charming red-brick front with stone mullions and dressings, and the oriel window of the *Chancery* (p. 314), and the *Organist's House* beyond. Opposite the great South Porch of the Minster is the delightful *Cantilupe Chantry* (p. 311), the gateway to the *Bishop's Palace* (p. 291 *private*), and the collegiate-looking 'quad' of the *Vicars' Court* (p. 311). Walking down and out into Greestone Place, below the range of stables, some good ironwork will be noted, and the steps should be descended through the little postern to Lindum Road; the large brick building on the right being the Girls' High School. On the left of Lindum Road is the City Session House, with a Russian cannon, presented by Lord Panmure, in front. On the left in Monks Road is the Roman Catholic Church, of good design but with a somewhat stunted spire. The Constitutional Club, a gift from Sir Charles Seely, Bart., a former candidate for the city, occupies the corner of Silver Street and Broadgate. Immediately north of the large church of *St. Smithin* (p. 335) is the *Greyfriars* (p. 351).

Passing downwards to the river some quaint half-timbered houses are seen on the north bank, along which it is quite worth while to walk, and so get back into High Street. By crossing the road and going down the steps on the north side of the Bridge, Brayford (the large sheet of water formed by the confluence of the Witham and the Fossdyke, and from which the Witham emerges to run through the city) may be visited. A walk along the bank of Brayford and the Fossdyke can be taken to the Racecourse. Turning up from Brayford, through *Lucy*



*Greestone  
Stairs*

*Tower Street* (p. 384), and crossing Newland, where the old gate used to be, the visitor can ascend the hill by the path through the *Park* and *Motherby Hill* (p. 35) to the south-west corner of the Castle. A fine view can be obtained from Carline Road, over the Trent Valley, reaching from Gainsborough on the right, to Belvoir Hill on the left hand. The statue at the corner of Union and Carline Roads is to Dr. Charlesworth, physician to the '*Lann*' Hospital (p. 148).

Returning again to the High Street, behind the little entry directly south of the Great Northern Hotel Stables, on the east side of the street, is the half-timbered house called (mistakenly) *Whitefriars* (p. 436).

Lincoln    The handsome stone house (now Inland Revenue Offices) on the same side, just before the Midland Railway crossing, was the town-house of the *Sibthorps* (p. 394). A little further down, on the same side, is *St. Mary's Guildhouse* (p. 389), and opposite, the remains of *John of Gaunt's Palace* (p. 391). Below the Guildhouse is *St. Peter-at-Gowts Church* (p. 333). Further south is the Gowts Bridge, *St. Botolph's* (p. 131), and the Sincil Dyke is crossed at *Bargate Bridge* (p. 386).

To the left are seen the irregular heaps of the *Malandry Fields* (p. 338); on the right is the site of *St. Katherine's Priory*; and in front, where the roads branch off to Cross Cliff Hill and Bracebridge, was Swine Green, where the first *Eleanor Cross* was placed (p. 93). The run to Bracebridge by tram-car is recommended, as the church is of Saxon date, the tower similar to those of *St. Peter-at-Gowts* and *St. Mary-le-Wigford*, the chancel arch very small and narrow, with a squint on each side of it. If Cross Cliff Hill be ascended, a fine view of the city will be obtained.

## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

*Page 19.*—A milestone inscribed with the name of Victorinus was found in 1882 at Cawfield's Farm, on the north side of the Roman Wall (Tyne to Solway).

*Page 33.*—Diocesan Training College for female pupil teachers : a very valuable and successful educational establishment, which has owed much to the late Canon Hector Nelson and Canon Rowe, its first and present Principals.

*Pages 255-256.*—The sentences referring to the Rood and parish altars in the Cathedral have been accidentally repeated on page 329, in the account of St. Mary Magdalene's Church.

*Page 324.*—All Saint's Church has been built and endowed entirely by Alfred Shuttleworth, D.L., to whose munificence also is due the noble tower and spire of St. Swithin's Church.

*Page 360.*—The Grey Friars has now been carefully restored and adapted for a museum by Messrs. W. Watkins and Son, from whose description much of the architectural account of the building has been taken.





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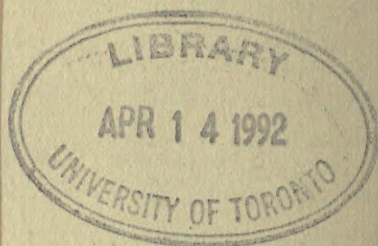
THE CONTINUITY  
1948  
W. F. HILL : *Medieval Lincoln.*

o English town offers itself as a  
ter subject for the devoted study  
f a local historian than does Lincoln.

Roman *colonia*, the site of a very  
arly minster possibly founded by  
aulinus himself, an important  
anish "borough," the head of the  
rgest medieval diocese in England,  
nd by the thirteenth century a  
ourishing centre of trade, this  
ncient city exhibits a continuity in  
s medieval development which it  
ould be hard to surpass. It is little  
onder, therefore, that in the modern  
ovement of local studies both Lin-  
oln and its region have received  
articular attention, and the notable  
ork of the Lincoln Record Society  
as already demonstrated how abund-  
nt are the materials by which its  
ast may be illuminated. A worthy  
story of the medieval city itself has,  
owever, hitherto been lacking. This  
now supplied by Mr. Hill in a  
lume which has been beautifully  
duced by the Cambridge Univer-  
y Press. The author tells us that  
s book has been twenty years in  
eparation, and perhaps as the fittest  
mmary of its importance it will  
ffice gratefully to remark that the  
ne has been well spent.

The book is arranged on a plan  
hich is partly chronological and  
rtly descriptive. Thus down to the  
orman Conquest the narrative is  
ontinuous, and it is then broken by  
chapter describing the Minster and  
e Close, the Castle and the Bad,  
e parish churches and religious  
ouses. Afterwards the narrative  
roceeds with similar digressions re-  
ting to the medieval Jewry, to trade  
nd communications and finally to  
e details of civic administration. It  
probably in its treatment of such  
pecial topics that the book will prove  
f most value, but the general narra-  
ve, if less notable, is none the less  
esigned to throw fresh light not only  
oon Lincoln itself but upon many  
ases of English history.

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